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THE INDIAN STATES AND PRINCES

13 MAY 1989

By

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K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.

WITH 31 ILLUSTRATIONS

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

EARLY in 1934 I had signed an agreement with my Publisher to write a book entitled *The Princes of India*, and when that was half written Sir William Barton published his delightful and informative book under the same name.

I have therefore held back this half till the passing of the India Act had brought the story up to a later date, and could re-arrange my own book on somewhat different lines. All that Sir William has said about his experience in many states, and his personal acquaintance with many chiefs I heartily endorse, and I have entered somewhat more fully than he on the history of the weaving of the pattern of India from which the whole position to-day depends and from which it is inseparable. The passing of the New India Act, which has yet to be accepted by the Princes in sufficient numbers to enable it to germinate, shows the new pattern which it is designed to evolve, as the coping stone of the century and a half of rebuilding the material of the Turkish Empire that crashed and brought such disaster to the millions of India.

It is now possible to include the latest drafts of the Instrument of Accession which the Princes will be asked to sign, as modified in accordance with Sir Samuel Hoare's promises in answer to the 'demur' of 1935, a disagreement which as he said had little in it but points of drafting, and in which the vexed matter of paramountcy did not arise.

In the matter of spelling of names and places I have kept in the historical pages to our old English way as borne on the war medals and the colours of victory. In writing of modern days I have changed to the method used by the Government of India.

GEORGE MACMUNN.

SACKVILLE COLLEGE,
February, 1936.

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BOOK I

THE WEAVING OF THE PATTERN OF BRITISH INDIA

- CHAPTER I. THE PRINCES IN OUTLINE
- CHAPTER II. THE RISING AND FADING OF THE MOGUL STAR
- CHAPTER III. NIZAM AND MOGUL, MAHRATTA AND AFGHAN
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CHAPTER I

THE PRINCES IN OUTLINE

The Ruling Princes of India. The Overlords of India through the Ages. The various types of States. First contacts with the British. The Princes, Viceroy, and Crown.

THE RULING PRINCES OF INDIA

THE hope of welding the British Provinces and the Princes' States of India into a federation as large in population and in area as Europe less Russia, has drawn and will further draw the attention of not only those of the British public and the peoples of the Empire, but also of the world. The Ruling Princes of India are one of the most astounding facts of that continent, and of the unparalleled feat in history of the rebuilding in peace and prosperity of the thousand pieces into which the great Turkish Empire of Delhi crashed, close on two hundred years ago.

The Indian Princes themselves are personalities picturesque and feudal, who delight the British people on the occasions when they visit Britain, when they play in all-British cricket teams, and when they join them in the hours of danger. Their jewels, their princesses, their gorgeousness, their hospitality, their devotion to the Crown, are all subjects on which the Press of Britain, and, on fewer occasions, of the Continent, delight to expatiate. But apart from picturesque writing which at times developed into fulsomeness, the knowledge of them and their story is confined to comparatively few.

How they originated, what is the storied past behind their sonorous titles, and how, and why, is almost a hidden book.

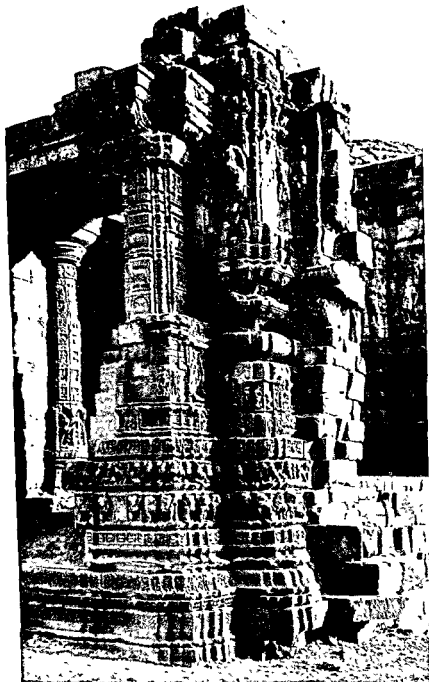
As the implementing of the eventual form of the India Act develops, they will come more and more into prominence, and become of greater interest. A few facts concerning the magnitude of this problem, especially in connection with federation, so that the reader may be seized at the outset of its importance, is given as an appetiser.

The Ruling Princes of India number between five and six hundred, and their principalities vary from that of the Nizam, as large as a third of France, to others no larger than Battersea Park. The population of India¹ in 1931 numbered 340 millions, and of these one quarter, over eighty millions, are the subjects of Princes. India contains close on two million square miles. Of this two-fifths lie in the Princes' States. The area of Great Britain is 88,000 square miles, its population 45 millions. In these simple terms the importance of the subject lies revealed.

These five hundred odd princes are in treaty with the British Crown, through the Viceroy, and are in no sense ruled by the Government of India as such. They have no part in such demands as there may be for democratic or representative government. They are concerned in the prosperity of their own people under their personal government. They are concerned too, some in preserving the *status quo*, in patriarchal form, others in instituting, or have instituted, some form of representation, while yet others are irrevocably die-hard, because they rule an old and feudal people who prefer to have it so. Some are at clash with the ways of modern town-bred India which has penetrated to their own cities; others see their way to adopt them, while controlling their more mischievous side, others are sensible of the conditions of their peoples, intensely progressive and constitutional. Among the young scions fresh from the sensuous impressions of university debating societies, are those who, forgetting the zenana influence, and even the slippering that may be waiting for them, talk openly of foregoing all their power and might, and living happily ever afterwards with a motor-bike and an aeroplane.

In fact, as might be expected from the mere stating of the problem, these rulers include every type of advanced sovereign through the gamut of tone and half-tone to types

¹ Less Burma.



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

THE ANCIENT HINDU TEMPLE OF SOMNATH IN JUNAGAD
STATE

Destroyed by Mahmud of Ghuzni, A D 1026



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

ANCIENT INDIA GATEWAY AT UPARKAT JUNAGADH STATE,
KATHIAWAR

that might have existed in the Western Highlands of Scotland five hundred years ago.

They have, too, every sort of origin. Some are set far back among the mists of time, some hacked their way to power but yesterday, and they divide themselves into various categories, according to origin. Under such we may now consider them. Some have been rulers ever since time was, others but upstarts of yesterday, leaders of horse in a crashing empire, who hacked their way to power and principedom.

THE OVERLORDS OF INDIA THROUGH THE AGES

Before, however, looking into these categories, it is necessary to keep a slight impression of Indian history always alive in our minds, and to realize the India of the Aryan domination, before and after the Mohammedan invasions and conquests. Before the Aryans came, perhaps 3000 years B.C., there was undoubtedly a civilized India, in which an earlier wave of people, that we know as Dravidian, ruled, and ruled, too, much as Celtic waves succeeded each other in Britain, over an earlier folk. Either they or earlier folk still, left the civilization which has so unexpectedly come to light during the last few years. The waves of Aryans from the Central Asian uplands, the war-like young men of the warrior class that were known as Kshattriya, gradually spread over the land, crushing the conquered to servitude or driving them to the jungles, setting up kingdoms and baronies over their own people, or those they dominated, until at last after many centuries, they had established Aryan kingdoms and principalities all over the greater part of India. Sometimes these kingdoms ran together to form one Empire such as that of Asoka, sometimes they massed into a few large kingdoms, with lesser components, while all the time each and all were for themselves and fought with each other. In the south of India a

few pure Dravidian dynasties actually ruled till comparatively recent times, while in the more inaccessible tracts and jungles chiefs of clans and tribes of aboriginal descent ruled over a kindred people. But the general condition was that chiefs and warriors of Aryan Kshattriyan origin had imposed themselves on the length of the land and even far up into the valleys of the Himalayas. This condition prevailed for many hundreds of years, and produced the later designation of the Rajput, 'Children of Princes,' sprung from the Kshattriya sources somewhat diluted, when the Brahmin revival reconstructed Hindu society, and Buddhism faded away into Tibet and the Far East.

Then came the great change, that threw India into a melting-pot from which it has never emerged. That change was the coming of the green banners of the Prophet in the hands of fierce fanatical races of Arabs, Turks, Tartars, and Afghans from the north west.

The green banners came first when the Islamic waves from the Persian Gulf swarmed into Sind in the eighth century, but there they were checked, and they did not swarm down again from the highlands of Afghanistan till the days when the Norman domination was spreading over Britain. It was then that the foreign Moslem dominion of India set in, and slowly swamped even the South.

It was not till the days of the Norman Conquest that the slave-born Turk, Mahmud of Ghuzni and his successors, crossed the Indus to commence the conquest of India, nourished by India's own internecine jealousies. Many fiery battles had Moslem and Hindu fought through the centuries before finally the invader set himself to besiege the great Hindu city of Indraput, the capital of Rajah Pritwi, and the first of the eight cities of Delhi. Muhammad Ghorî, a greater conqueror in Islam than even Mahmud of Ghazni, captured Rajah Pritwi, and put him to death, while a year later Delhi fell to one of his Turkish generals, Qutub-ud-din Aibuk. Then it was that the Rajput chiefs and clans

determined to up sticks and leave the Punjab and Hindustan for good and all, and marched for the inaccessible and often desert mountains of Central India, thenceforward to be known as Rajasthan or Rajputana. There they founded those Rajput states which have remained to this day. Often fiercely at war with the Moguls who succeeded to the earlier conquerors, they were rescued from them, or the equally ruthless rule of the Mahrattas, by the British. As they were when the British came, so they are largely to this day, profoundly cognizant that it is to the British Crown that they owe their present historic and honourable position in India. Mahmud of Ghuzni and his successors, and then Muhammad of Ghor, Turkish dynasties with many Afghan followers, ruled in India till they were succeeded by what is known as the 'Slaves,' the kings of Delhi who owed their position, as in other realms of the Turkish and Tartar nations, to the fact that they, the children of killed or conquered folk, were brought up as the huscarles of the kings. Those who developed great character and ability might rise to great heights, and even succeed to the throne.

The rest of the story belongs for the most part, so far as the matter of the princes and their origins is concerned, to the drama of the Rise of the great Turkish dynasty known as Mogul, which is but another form of Mongol, and the Mogul story, mingling in its later days with the coming of the British. In the fading of this bright constellation, the Princes, apart from those of Rajputana, come into being. So tragic and so dramatic are the circumstances that it and the rise of the Mahratta chiefs are matter for a chapter by itself.

THE VARIOUS TYPES OF STATES

Just as these ruling princes sprang from very different origins, so their associations as *tributaries*, or whatever else they may be called, *vis-à-vis* the British Crown, arose in many ways. For the purpose of general consideration and

historical presentment, they may, however, be classified in five main groups, which although amenable to further subdivision, again manifestly owe their origins to the same main happenings. As already explained they include those who quitted the Punjab and Hindustan before the pressure of the Turks and Afghans, and made the arid hills of Central India their long inaccessible home, the Princes Palatine of the Sun and the Moon and the Fire. These be they . . .

First. Those princes of ancient standing, who slowly, as time counted, reluctantly, submitted to the Mogul Emperors of Delhi, and their earlier Turkish predecessors, but who transferred their allegiance gladly to the all-protecting British power, as it became effective. Prominent among such are the Chiefs of Rajputana aforesaid, who represent, often in unbroken line, the old chivalry and authority of India.

Secondly, come those descendants of Mogul Governors who, in the crash of the Empire set up as independent sovereigns. Almost the oldest, as well as the only remaining exponent of the class, is the Nizam of Hyderabad, the premier prince of India, descendant of the great Chin Chillak Khan Asaf Jah the kingmaker of the failing days of the Empire. The other great Viceroys failed to make good and have passed. One was the Viceroy of Bengal, whom students of earlier British times in India well remember, the last Suraj-ud-Daulat, or 'Surajah Dowlah,' the 'Sun of the State.' Another was the Nawab Vizier of the Emperor, Viceroy of Oudh, made King of Oudh by the British. Generations of dissolute incumbents, and sorry failure to rule the state, compelled the Company and Crown, reluctantly to annexe this kingdom, whence emerged after the drama of '58 the great prosperous United Provinces of to-day.

In the *Third* class come a different type, viz., the descendants of those masters of horse who carved principalities for themselves out of the lands they could over-ride during the

period of collapse, when none did reverence to Delhi. The great Mahratta chiefs, who tried many a fall with the British before accepting subsidiary status, are foremost in this category, such as Sindhia, Holkar, and the Gaikwar.¹ The story of how they tried their strength, broke their treaties, were set up again, and eventually accepted the inevitable, as well as their attempt to 'jump' the Mogul Empire, will be outlined later. It is an oft-told story that is always new.

In the *Fourth* class come those princes whom the British have made. Foremost in that comes the dynasty of the great southern principality of Mysore. Haidar Ali, the Afghan- or Arab-descended soldier of fortune, servant of the Hindu chiefs of Mysore, grew too powerful, seized his master's throne and started the cruel, rapacious Moslem dynasty of Mysore. He soon found himself at loggerheads with the British, on whom he descended from his uplands time and again. Four Mysore Wars were the British compelled to make, two in his lifetime, two in that of his half-demented son Tippoo—Tippoo Sultan, as he is known to history. Twice the British Grand Army marched to Seringapatam, Tippoo dying in the last storming. Then instead of annexation the British searched for the old Hindu dynasty and restored it.

In this class in some sort also comes Kashmir, when, after the First Sikh War, the British gave the erstwhile Mogul-Afghan-Sikh province of Kashmir to Gulab Singh the Rajput Chief of Jammu.

The *Fifth* category of states originated from barons who asserted some form of autonomy as the Empire broke up, and voluntarily came under the British umbrella for their own protection. Among such would be the Phulkian Sikh States, 'The States of the Flower,' whose rulers were apprehensive of absorption into the state which the energy and acquisitiveness of Runjhith Singh of Lahore had carved

¹ The Gaikwar came into voluntary alliance early in the story.

for himself from the Punjab Province of the Durani Empire. From this fate Patiala, Jhind, Nabbha, and Kapurthala saved themselves by entering what in this connection might be called the British Commonwealth, the Empire in which the 'common weal' was the guiding principle.

The various treaties of alliance and treaties of peace after defeat, or after institution, were made in many cases at long intervals of time. Many were made when the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were almost independent of the co-ordinating Governor of Bengal, who since the days of Warren Hastings had also been Governor-General.

It was not to be wondered at that they differed considerably in mutual obligations and the responsibilities of one party to the other. For many years it has been the endeavour of Government so to shape them, as opportunity offered, that they might, in addition to special and local conditions, contain main principles that were similar and common to each other. Such similarity as is likely to eventuate, or has by now eventuated, is almost an essential as Federation becomes practical politics.

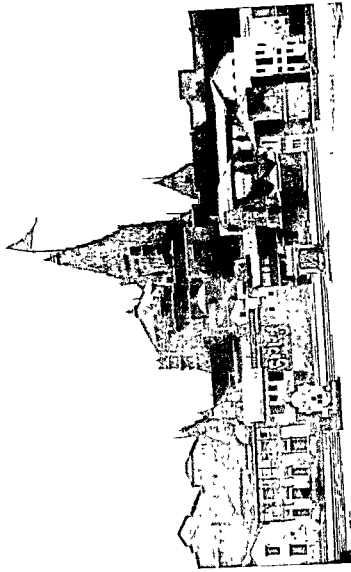
FIRST CONTACTS WITH THE BRITISH

In the next chapter will be outlined the story of the Mogul collapse, which brought the British on to the scene as something more than traders, but it may here be said, that it was because of the toppling and final crumbling of the superb Turkish edifice, which for four generations had astounded both East and West, that the British Empire arose. The Mogul Empire's soldiers of fortune, its nobles, its leaders of horse and its tributaries fought for the remains, but the British had come as traders, and had long been established as such under the Mogul peace. When that ended in the princes' pandemonium, they were compelled to shift for themselves. Then it was that they began to deal with the warring chiefs around them, and since they had been com-



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

JAIN TEMPLES IN PALITANA, TOPIK STATE, RAJPU TANA



ANCIENT HINDU TEMPLE AT DWARKA (BARODA) ON THE WEST COAST OF INDIA

pelled to maintain soldiers and cast cannon, they became allies worth having and worth buying.

It was in the South, from the East India Company's petty fortress of Fort St. George and Fort St. David that the first important contacts were made. The position was complicated by the presence of the French already dreaming of French Empire of India, the break-up of the Nizam's co-ordinating authority in the south, the incursions of the Mahrattas, the civil war in the Carnatic, and the taking sides, unavoidable under the circumstances, by British and French. The support of one claimant by the British and of the other by the French, brought us upon the scene as an arbiter. Our eventual victory over the French, showed us to be the stronger and most desirable ally, and the Princes of the South sought our alliance and support. In these struggles Robert Clive, the writer turned soldier, had his meteoric rise, and then we find him turning up in Bengal to save the settlement from the attacks of the Nawab of Bengal, the Mogul Viceroy who had broken away from control.

THE PRINCES AND THE CROWN

In a subsequent chapter the historical story of how close on a century and a half ago the East India Company became the 'Crown in Commission' will be discussed and the important question of 'Paramountcy' about which there has been a good deal of vacuous legal writing in the past, vacuous because, as explained later, it is a matter of hard fact and big guns which are the *fons et origo* of all power, or at any rate of all law and order. From that will be seen the incidence and importance of the Crown as such, and that all treaties with the Princes are either concluded by the Governor-General as the direct representative of the Crown, or, where they were concluded prior to the Governor-General being so recognized, were adopted later as the permanent status. All through the story of the connection

between the Princes' States and Great Britain, therefore, it will be apparent that this basis is the governing factor, putting the preservation and safety of the Princes outside the clash of British politics, of Secretaries of State with a Socialist outlook, *et hoc genus omne*, and fully justifying a determination of the Princes to set up on their own, should in any unlikely contingency the Crown cease to be at the head of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

It was this point in another form that brought the Princes into the Federal scheme contrary to their natural wishes and aspirations. It has inspired them in their determination that their Instrument of Accession to that scheme should not contravene the principles on which their order and their British connection stand, or start them moving down a slippery incline at the bottom of which they are delivered over to the lawyer and trader intelligentsia of the House that John Bull built.

In this question of Paramountcy and what it involves, the position of the Great Mogul in India, vis-à-vis the Princes of his Empire, and the position that the 'Upstarts' carved for themselves, is more than important. In this connection the position of the British Crown as the legal or at any rate *de facto* successor to the Turk must be examined later on.

The Governor-General exercises his responsibility through his Political Department, he himself being the 'Minister with Portfolio' of that Department, and the Secretary to Government therein being the chief instrument thereof. The Governor-General in his other capacity as 'Viceroy,' the representative of the Emperor of India, deals personally with many of the Chiefs, who, *more Asiatico*, often try to undermine the decisions and doings of his department and his local representatives, the 'Residents' at the Eastern Courts. Many of the lesser states, deeply mixed up with the Madras and Bombay presidential areas, have been handled by the Governors of those presidencies which had their own political departments. Of late years in preparing

for the days when a uniform treatment of the Princes' problem would become insistent, and for some form of grouping, the affairs of all save the very small chiefs who, except for their treaty status, are little more than landed gentry, have been transferred to the control of the Viceroy and his Political Department.

In the matter of states and control, the great impenetrable jungles of Central India which preserved so many of the states from the Mogul and earlier Moslem rulers, equally from the beginning made it desirable that the British local governments should deal with them. It is only since the opening out of India by road, rail and telegram that central control has been possible.

The points connected with the Political Department, Paramountcy and Federation will be dealt with at more length later on, after the historical origin of the Princes has been explored, and the situation in the twentieth century reached.

CHAPTER II

THE RISING AND FADING OF THE MOGUL STAR

The Struggles in the Deccan. The Rise of the Mogul. The Mahratta Canker. The Empire after Alamgir. The Dry-rot in the Peacock Throne.

THE STRUGGLES IN THE DECCAN

FROM the days of the Tuglaqs to those of the British Peace, the great rolling kopjie-strewn plateau that falls eastward from the tilt of the Western Ghats has been the theatre for the constant marching of armies.

We may here try to picture to ourselves the scenes on this great plateau of the Deccan, both in the constant marchings of the huge Mogul armies or the earlier formations of the Tuglaqs. The history of earlier India has been briefly touched on, to the coming of Islam, and the great Rajput trek from Hindustan, and we should realize that in the days of the Tuglaqs, a dynasty that lasted from 1320 to 1414, the rule of Moslem Delhi extended over practically the whole of India. Pathan and Turkish rulers and governors had established themselves throughout almost the whole land, and rendered tribute to Delhi either from force of Tuglaq arms or from a desire for the support of a Muhammedan overlord. It was not till the fissiparous instinct reasserted itself as Delhi waned for a while, under the dynasties that succeeded to these last, that the Moslem kingdoms of the South arose. The first of the Tuglaqs reigned but four weeks, and was succeeded by the cultured but mad Muhammad Tuglaq. We may try and recall the scene, as he, struck with the charm and, possibly, the strategic value of Devagiri on the Deccan plateau, and the astounding value as a fortress of the isolated hill there, transferred his northern capital of Delhi thereto, a distance of eight hundred miles. On camels, carts, bullocks, and shank's mare travelled the folk of the capital, urged on their way by the madman's soldiery. It is said that two bedridden or perhaps obstinate men did not go. Muhammad ordered them to be drawn there,

hitched behind a camel, and it is said that their feet shackled to the traces, alone arrived, the rest of them having worn out by the way—for such is an Eastern tyrant. Muhammad Tuglaq called his capital, whose deserted walls and gates and bastions may yet be seen, Daulatabad, i.e., ‘The City of Wealth.’ Over Daulatabad stands this remarkable fortress hill. It has no defences save a few low battlements far up towards the sky. Its bulwarks are rather a scarped rock, perhaps two hundred feet high, so smooth that not even a rock lizard can creep up it. Entrance is through a long graded drive in the heart of the rock to the *terre-plein* high within. At the bottom there is, it is true, a high barbican. The rest of the defence is sheer applied science. Near the top is a large charcoal furnace; when it is lit, the heavy fumes of carbon-monoxide roll down the long drive, and nothing living can move up.

Such was the citadel of the southern capital of the Tuglaqs, whence they ruled the Deccan, and the rest of India, and for centuries the great armies marched and fought. When the Tuglaqs petered out, as Indian dynasties will, usually from excessive chambering, there arose in the south and west Muhammedan kingdoms which fought and warred and varied for generations. They it was, which kept in more or less subjection the Mahratta barons of the western hill country, the people of the Konkan and the Dèś. Then, in our later Stuart days, developed the Mogul determination to destroy them. The Imperial armies moved and marched, their great artillery lumbered along, with twenty yoke of bullocks in the great cannon, with masses of horsemen in chain mail, and forests of spears, and behind that the jackal and gipsy nomad tribes who worked for them, the ‘*chapperbands*,’ who made huts for the army from the long grass of the river banks, the ‘*sikligarhs*,’ who sharpened spears for them, or marched with the hated Tartar invaders to Europe, and whose descendants now grind our knives and scissors and the like.

THE RISE OF THE MOGUL

After several 'Slave Kings' and other dynasties, under which the whole of India came under Moslem sway of some kind, dry rot set in at Delhi, which, in the days of our Elizabeth, induced young Baber, the Lion, Governor of Kabul for the king of Ferghana, to start to seize the Delhi throne, to which, through his ancestor, Timur the Lame Tartar, he had a claim. So Baber rode from his Afghan hills to Delhi, winning one of the many battles of Panipat, to found that splendid line of Emperors. To Humayun, his son, came disaster, but to Akbar his grandson it fell to establish the line of the Mighty. The sonorous Persian titles of the Emperors are world famous, singing themselves as they go—Akbar, Jahāngir (the World-Grasper), Shah Jahān (the World-Holder), Alāmgir (the Encompasser of the Universe), also known as Aurungzebe, the fanatical skname-link child of Shah Jahān and Arjamand Begum. But, alas, that was the end of it. Aurungzebe was too fanatical, and he had alienated his Hindu subjects and undermined his foundations. His heir was over sixty years of age when Alāmgir died, in the reign of our good Queen Anne. This heir, who was Governor of Kabul, for the Mogul Empire then reached the Oxus, began, when well over sixty years of age, a reign too short to show his power and wisdom, and that was the last of it. The moral energy of the line was exhausted. The factors of disruption were many—Afghan kingdoms from the south of India to the Oxus with little love for the Turk, Hindu chiefs who needed tolerance and *wisdom as well as strength in their overlords*, Persian Princes who cared but for themselves, Afghan colonists always ready to rise when the magic of the Mogul name had gone and the strong hand had waxed feeble—there were none so poor as did it reverence. But in the driving of nails into this coffin of the great, there was one cause

that outran the others, and that was the great Mahratta canker.

This is in brief the story of it.

THE MAHRATTA CANKER

The Maharattas, or Mahrattas, the Great Rathas, were a small race of overlords and land-owners in the mountains of western India, whose descent and origin is a matter of dispute. Their leaders were probably descended of Aryan warrior clans who, penetrating into the west, had married women of a sturdy indigenous race. Their Rajput claim has never been accepted, but their position in the country had not been dissimilar to that of Norman barons and their followers in Saxon England. They had, with most of India, been conquered by the Moslem invaders, whose more or less contented subjects they had been for several generations, when among them arose the fire-brand patriot and Hindu revivalist, Sivaji. Sivaji was the son of the Mahratta landowner Shahji, of the Bonsla family, whose home was in Poona, but who served as a general the Moslem King of Bijapore, the powerful kingdom of the south. The story of Sivaji is important both to the issue of the Mogul fall, and to the origins of several of the most important of the Indian Princes of to-day.

Sivaji was brought up at Poona by a Deccani Brahmin tutor and guardian, and early imbibed the idea of freeing Hindus from the ruthless oppression and overlordship which characterized Muhammedan rule in that part, as indeed in most parts, of India, after the wise and tolerant Akbar had passed away.

Sivaji was born in 1627, the year of the death of the Emperor Jahāngir, when Shah Jahān the Magnificent had just come to the Mogul throne. The Mahratta hills were then largely within the territory of Shahji's employer, the King of Bijapore. It was not therefore to the latter's advan-

tage when the lad Sivaji and some of his young Mahratta *tarafdars*, or followers, seized the Moslem hill fort of Torna, near Poona, and set up as a gang of Robin Hoods. Sivaji followed up his escapades by adding to his followers and securing many more of that ring of fortresses on the Ghats, which commanded the trading routes from the coast to the plateau, and a find of treasure is supposed to have furnished him with the sinews of war, which more probably was but secret subsidies from Hindu merchants.

The King of Bijapore had by now cast Sivaji's father into prison and sent his Afghan general, Afzul Khan, with a large army to cope with the nascent danger. Mahrattas are crafty folk and Sivaji, arranging an interview with the Moslem, stabbed him in the act of an embrace with the *bagnakh*, or 'tiger's claw,' that tore out his vitals.

At this time Aurungzebe, third son of Shah Jahān, was Viceroy of the Deccan and about to embark upon his disastrous policy of dog-kill-dog, no less than the destruction of his co-religionists, the independent kings of the Deccan, viz., Golconda and Bijapore. The rebel Sivaji seemed a heaven-sent tool to further his purpose; he ignored the fact that these same kings were the best countervailing influence in the west to Hindu aspirations. Sivaji, however, soon made peace for the moment with Bijapore the hated, and turned to ravage the Mogul Deccan.

The whole of Aurungzebe's long viceroyalty had been a period of wars and tented fields, and as he was turning on his elder brothers, with the object of seizing the throne from them and his ageing father, this Mahratta ulcer broke out. A Mogul general had captured most of Sivaji's forts and was celebrating his victories, when 'the Mountain Rat' descended from his fastness at Singhur to slay most of his enemies, the general alone escaping, his son falling. Thenceforward Sivaji became more and more daring, eventually even surprising Mogul Surat, the English factory alone resisting successfully. Sivaji now assumed the title of

Rajah, coined his own money, turned pirate, and preyed on the Mogul trade and the pilgrim ships to Mecca. This was more than the Emperor Alāmgir, late Aurungzebe, could stand, and Sivaji, threatened by Moguls and their Rajput allies, was fain to get the best terms he could. He surrendered twenty of his forts to the Imperial garrison, and must agree to help the Moguls destroy Bijapore, which he was ready enough to do. In return, he was to keep his title of Rajah, his son was to command a *Panch-hazari*, i.e., Five-thousand-horse, in the Mogul service, and he was authorized to levy a *chouth*, a fourth of the revenue, in certain districts. This was the inch that his descendants made an ell, declaring their right to this *chouth* in as many districts of India as they could over-ride, which was one day to be their undoing.

Eight years after Aurungzebe had succeeded by force of usurpation to the Mogul throne, Shah Jahān, the father he had deposed and imprisoned, died, still gazing from his prison tower in the palace at Agra on the Taj, the glorious tomb of memory that he had built for Arjamand, still smelling his hands to see if the scent of the apples that the *faqir* had given him for dying Arjamand had returned. The *faqir* had promised that so long as his hands smelt of the apples his fortune should endure.

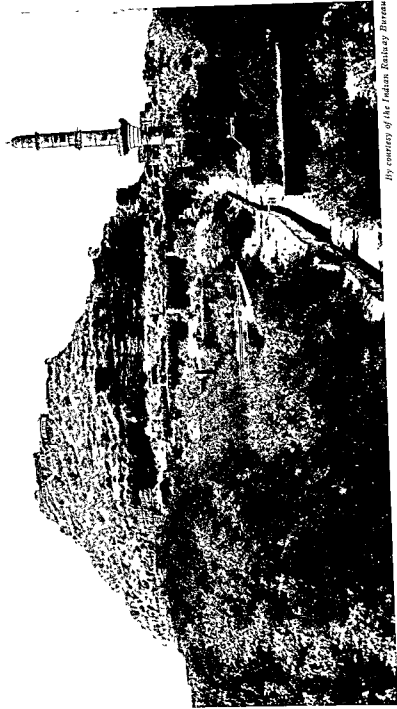
It was now 1666 ; the King of Bijapore, the best bulwark and counterweight to a rise of the Mahrattas, was nearly defeated, and much of his lands forfeit. The hatred of Sivaji for this dynasty had served the Mogul purpose well, and he was summoned to Delhi as a mark of Imperial satisfaction. To his surprise the short-sighted Emperor gave him the cold shoulder, thereby making a lifelong enemy, and the 'mountain rat' found himself detained under surveillance, eventually to escape, vowing hatred and vengeance on the oppressors. He commenced to ravage Mogul territory again, but as Alāmgir had not finished with Golconda and Bijapore he needed Sivaji's help, and let him

be. Nevertheless he struck his own money, styled himself Rajah and declared himself 'Champion of the Hindu Gods against Aurungzebe.' In 1674 he had himself enthroned at his mountain fortress of Raigarh with great pomp and ceremony.

While this was in progress this short-sighted Emperor who had inherited the Mogul Empire while still in its prime, must needs persecute his Hindu subjects, and in many cases even destroy their temples. Hindu risings followed, and the Hindu revenue officers who had collected the revenue for years were replaced by Moslems with no experience. Even his loyal Rajput Princes, many of whom served him as soldiers and generals, were not spared. While this was in progress his mad Deccan policy against the Moslem Kingdoms had not prospered. The Emperor himself took the field, cumbrously enough, but eventually Bijapore was destroyed, and then Golconda. All the while the Mahrattas devastated the country in his rear, and with the Moslem neighbours gone, there was none to keep them within bounds. But Sivaji was now dead, and Sambaji, his son, was a feeble successor, Alāmgir's 'Grand Army' was too much for him, his forts fell one after the other, and Sambaji himself was carried prisoner to the Emperor's camp, there to be tortured and beheaded. The Moguls then marched south even to Tangore, and the whole of India became, nominally at least, subject to Alāmgir. Even with Sambaji dead, the Mahrattas were still alive, and in the course of time, the Moguls held little more in the Deccan than the land they camped on.

Always was Alāmgir compelled to keep the field; not for him the delights and comforts of the Imperial palaces at Agra and Delhi. In the north the once humble Sikhs had grown into a fierce military people, and they fought all Moslems to the death.

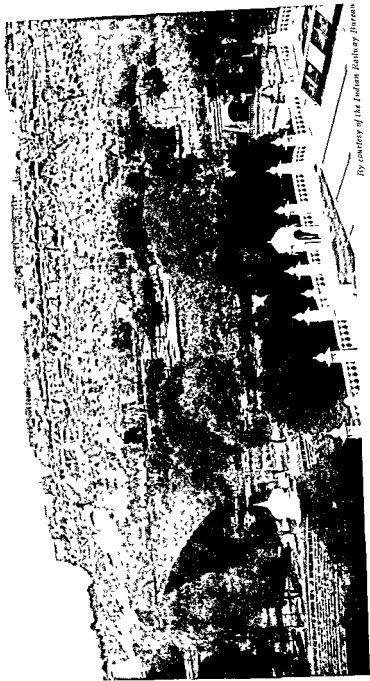
Alāmgir, who had sown the seeds of disruption, struggled on austere and bravely enough, but in 1706, after twenty-



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

THE FORTRESS OF DAULATABAD

Its defence precipitous sides entered by a tunnel defended by carbon monoxide gas



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

THE ROCK OF GWALIOR

Of great fame and antiquity Thrice captured by the British and restored.

four years of war that was largely his own making, his spirit was demanded of him to appear before the recording and questioning angels. He died at Ahmednagar, the capital of a once great Muhammadan kingdom. When he was gone, Hinduism once more dreamed of a Hindu India—a dream that had died away in despair centuries before.

AFTER ALĀMGIR

While Aurungzebe reigned the English continued, naturally enough, but as tenants in his Empire. Had the Empire continued in being, Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and the numerous other trading stations, would have remained as was Shanghai in that other Tartar Empire—wealthy settlements in another's land.

The eldest son, Muazzim, as already indicated, now succeeded to the throne after the usual Asiatic struggle with a younger brother, who was defeated by one of the Imperial generals. Muazzim then left his governorship of Afghanistan to ascend the throne, taking, after the custom of the time, the title of *Bahadur Shah*. Under his rule the Empire could perhaps have survived had he been younger. But *Bahadur Shah* was over sixty years of age when he came into the troubled throne that Alāmgir had left him. Another brother arose and declared the South independent, only to be defeated and slain by *Zulfiqr Khan*, the same Imperial general. This was bound to strain the fabric of Empire further, and though *Bahadur Shah* tried to placate his Hindu subjects Alāmgir had undermined the structure too deeply for it to recover.

The Sikhs were another matter. They lay across the Imperial road to Kabul, and invaded Sirhind. *Bahadur Shah*, if mild and reasonable, was a man of spirit, and he defeated their leader *Banda* with terrible slaughter and punishments; but, worn out with his endeavours, he died at Lahore in 1712, after a reign of less than five years.

His death was the signal for bitter struggles for the throne, at the hands of puppets of the house of Timur, dancing to the tune of various kingmakers, which inaugurated the pathetic decay of one of the great Empires of the world.

Bahadur Shah had made some attempt to settle the Mahratta trouble without too great a loss of dignity. Sahu, the grandson of Sivaji and son of Sambaji had been brought up at the Imperial Court, in some sense a *detenu*, but Bahadur Shah now sent him back to his own country with right of *chouth*, allowing him to be crowned as king of the Mahrattas in 1708, at his city of Satara. But Sahu was as little competent to wear the mantle of Sivaji as was his father Sambaji. He and his family gradually sank to be that royal nonentity that was so common an institution in the East, where the real power often lay with the Prime Minister, as we see it in Nepal to this day, and of which we have also an instance in Europe, a crown holding an almost sacred but powerless position.

The Oriental game of chess illustrates this to perfection. The effective 'queen' of the western board is in reality the *vizier*, the eastern name for the piece, the minister who protects and cherishes a useless if sacred king. Sahu could not hold that *baghnak*, which is the symbol of Sivaji and his good faith, but he was fortunate to find for his prime minister a Brahmin of the Deccan, a breed long famous for shrewdness and cunning, one Balaji Biswanath. Sahu gladly left him the power, to withdraw among his women, and soon became but a puppet. It was thus that the Mahratta Confederacy eventually arose, at first led *in the king's name by the Peshwa or prime minister*. Thus we have the effective combination of the sacred *roi feneant*, the able minister, the stout warrior chieftains who made the throne, the sturdy Dravidian peasantry and yeomen of the Konkan who formed the bulk of the peoples. Balaji produced the system whereby the chiefs enjoyed the revenue of the countries they over-ran, collected for

them by Deccan Brahmins, whom Balaji appointed as tax-gatherers.

The granting of subordinate autonomy to Sahu, had seemed to Bahadur Shah to be a course likely to make a supporter for his throne, and no doubt had the Empire remained in strong hands, that would have been the case. But with the throne about to decay, it only let the chief burglars in on the ground floor, and seemed ere long likely to set up a Hindu Raj in place of Islam and the Turk. The next few pages of history will show the *débâcle*, which brought the Mahratta chiefs into the rôle of ruling princes, and even a new star, the Nizam, into the heavens, who, like the Mahratta chiefs, still revolve in the firmament round an Aryan British throne, rather than a foreign Tartar throne at Delhi.

THE DRY-ROT IN THE PEACOCK THRONE

Owing largely to the support of General Zulfiqr, an Afghan, the struggle among the claimants ended by the weakest coming to the throne as Jahandar Shah, and after the custom of the East, then recognized to be first-class statesmanship, the Emperor had all possible claimants among his relatives put to death. Zulfiqr, good as a general was useless as a statesman. Evil and misrule were rampant, and two nobles of Arab descent, known as the 'Sayyad Brothers,' set up at Agra a grandson of Aurungzebe, one Firokhsiyar, who had escaped the massacre, as rival Emperor. In a fierce battle between the supporters of the rival Moguls, fought near Agra in 1713, Jahandar Shah the 'World Ruler' and Zulfiqr were captured and executed. For five years Firokhsiyar reigned as a puppet in the hands of the two Sayyads. One of the brothers Husain Ali, was made Governor of the Deccan where he waged unsuccessful war against the Mahratta, and eventually it was necessary to agree to the Mogul Deccan being placed also under the

Mahratta control, a bitter enough pill for Delhi to swallow. In 1719, the feeble young Emperor endeavoured to escape from the control of the Sayyads. Husain Ali at once marched for Delhi, having concluded an alliance with the Mahrattas, bringing with him the Peshwa himself at the head of 10,000 Mahratta horse; and accompanied also by Chin Chillik Khan, the Nizam, whose story is yet to be told. These strange bedfellows defeated the Imperial Army and seized the Emperor Firokhsiyar, whom the Sayyads now put to death. They put another Imperial puppet on the throne of Akbar, who died within three months of consumption. Another was produced from the cage, but he died also within the year. Thus between Alāmgir's death in 1707 and 1713, no less than five of the House of Timur had sat on the throne, of which Bahadur Shah alone had any pretence to be a ruler.

The Sayyads now produced a sixth, a grandson of Bahadur Shah, named Roshan Akhtar, and in 1719 he was placed on the peacock throne with the title of Muhammad Shah. The new Emperor, however, gradually developed some personal determination, supported Chin Chillik Khan and a Persian adventurer named Saadat Khan, and consolidated his throne thereby sufficiently to achieve a reign of dwindling power for twenty-nine years. The story of the subversion of the Sayyads and earlier years of Muhammad Shah's reign is the story of the rise of the new star, the Nizam, already referred to, and with him, the somewhat strange principality of the Nawab-Vizier of the decaying Emperor, whom the British eventually made King of Oudh.

This survival of the Empire might have persisted, like the Nizam to this day, but for the depravity of its dynasty, to be described hereafter.

CHAPTER III

NIZAM AND MOGUL, MAHRATTA AND AFGHAN

The Rise of the Nizam-ul-Mulk, Asaf Jah. The Nizam and the Sayyads. The Development of the Mahratta Confederacy. The Coming of Nadir Shah Kuli (1738). The Mahrattas, the Mogul and the Afghan. The Destruction of the Mahratta Host by the Afghans, 1761.

THE RISE OF NIZAM-UL-MULK, ASAF JAH

FIRST among the Princes of India, in the precedence given by the British, stands the descendant of Chin Chillik Khan,¹ Nizam-ul-Mulk, 'Regent of the Land', better known in history by his other Persian title, Asāf Jāh, the king-maker of the dying days of the Mogul Empire.

His descendants had a long and bitter road to follow before they could ride in safety in the British harbour.

The Nizam, which should be pronounced Nizām, to rhyme almost with farm, and not Naizam to rhyme with jam as the English so often say it, is the premier prince in India for two reasons. First, because he alone of the great princes entered into treaty many generations ago with the English, and kept it for all time, but also because his territories are the largest, being perhaps half as large as France. First we must see how his kingdom came to be, and then how the Mahrattas struggled fiercely with his descendant Nizams, and how the English joined their destinies to his salvation; then we can pass to more modern things. But just as no man can get away from his shadow so no state can get away from the past, and the outline of the past must be cast on the screen. It is when we try to separate things from their story that we are apt to go wrong, and when we talk about the dead hand, we are begging the question, for the mission of the past is to show us how and why, not to clog but to help the future.

Certainly no one contemplates getting away from the past of his dynasty less than the Nizam.

¹ Or more correctly, Chin Khallij Khan.

NIZAM-UL-MULK AND THE SAYYADS

As you traverse, if traverse you will, the Deccan, the plains of Malwa and Khandeish, you will realize that for century piled on century War has been the staple industry of this country. Everywhere are the great fortresses, the heavily-bastioned cities, the castles of the reiving barons, the gun-founders in every village, the villages themselves, walled and towered to protect the needs of the peasantry who cultivated while war swept by them. Not till the British came with "the Queen's peace over all" was it all ended. True now and again some great ruler like Akbar, hammered the country quiet for a while, but strife only broke out again when the strong dynasty waned.

It was in this milieu that was bred and born the strong astute Muhammedan soldier, Chin Chillik Khan, some say of Turkish origin, like so many of the Lords of India, the Lords of Turan, some say Arab, or Afghan.

In 1713, as related, when good Queen Anne sat on the throne of England, and the upheavals that followed the death of the Emperor Bahadur Shah, son of Aurungzebe Alāmgir, were in progress the two Sayyad brothers still had the power in their hands. One brother became *Vizier* of the Empire, the other governor or *Subahdar* of the Deccan, now more important than ever with the added territories of the Kingdoms of Bijapore and Golconda. Rewards were given to those who had supported the Firokhsiyar party, and among these Chin Chillik Khan, who had been governor of Bijapore, was given the high-sounding title of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and sent back to the Deccan to take temporary charge thereof, till the Sayyad Husain Ali could proceed to his province. He was soon transferred to Mooradabad.

It was while this was in progress that the assassination of Firokhsiyar, and the death of his two quick-turn successors just related took place.

The Sayyads now summoned to court as one of their supporters the austere Nizam-ul-Mulk, but finding him none too subservient, they sent him to the government of Malwa. His strong and capable hands soon brought that unruly province to order, and he then turned his attention to the Deccan, where he had plenty of supporters, including many of the Mahratta chiefs. He now definitely decided that he could no longer support the Sayyads, and took the Imperial fortress of Asirgarh and the walled town of Burhanpore, which gave him access to the vast park of Imperial cannon and war stores. Two Sayyad, and nominally Imperial, generals were defeated by Nizam-ul-Mulk, and Husain Ali himself decided to advance into his own province and cope with the rebel, intending to take the young Emperor with him. But nineteen years of age, Muhammad Shah, counselled by his mother to obey, at any rate for the moment, the Sayyads in all things, made no objections, rejoicing, however, in his heart of hearts at the successes of Nizam-ul-Mulk, whose rebellion was not against the Empire, but rather against the unscrupulous hands that controlled the crown. Already there was at Delhi an anti-Sayyad movement, and soon after the Emperor's camp had joined that of Husain Ali at Agra, the Sayyad was murdered by a fanatical Tartar. After the manner adopted by young Bengal terrorists to-day, the assassin came close in order to present a petition. He was cut to pieces after the deed, but Husain Ali was no more, and fierce partisan struggles supervened, in which the young Emperor fought with courage against those who attacked his camp.

At Delhi the other Sayyad brother, the Vizier, rose to the occasion after the manner of his kind. He drew out of the palace another sprig of the Imperial family, Prince Rafi-ul-Khudr, and declared him Emperor, marching with all the troops he could muster, joined also by many of his brother's veterans, to meet the army of the Emperor,

Muhammad Shah, which was now commanded by Muhammad Ameen Khan, the sirdar who had planned the downfall of Husain Ali. The armies met near Agra and the struggle was most protracted. On the fourth day the Vizier and his nominee, the former badly wounded, were taken prisoners, though, contrary to the usual custom, their lives were spared. The real Emperor, so far as any of the nonentities available can be so styled, marched on to Delhi with Ameen Khan, who was now Vizier, and his opponent disappeared. Ameen Khan, however, died shortly after, and by general consent, Muhammad Shah appointed Nizam-ul-Mulk as his successor. The Deccan, however, needed securing, and it was not till a year later that he arrived at Delhi to give the much-needed stiffening to affairs at the capital and the administration of the Empire.

It was high time that he came, for the Emperor was indulging in that dissipation and chambering to which all court-bred Turks are so prone. There was also a party anxious to oust him from the viziership. That office in a decaying Empire, with so many strongly eccentric and fissiparous tendencies, was no light matter, and these conditions added to a fickle master, made Nizam-ul-Mulk by no means satisfied that his lofty office outweighed the advantages of his *subahdari* in the provinces. As he had been made Governor of Gujarat as well as the Deccan, he betook himself ere long to that province, where his usual vigour and prestige soon disposed of disturbing elements. Balajee Wiswanath, the Peshwa, who had long discovered that it paid to keep in with the Mogul authorities, had passed away, but his son, the first Baji Rao, equally realized that at present a similar policy paid, remarking, however, on the fairly obvious future, "when the Empire falls, let us have all the branches." Under such conditions, Nizam-ul-Mulk was soon free to return to his greater office. This he did, to the disconcerting of the Emperor, who had hoped

that Gujarat would keep his mentor engaged for some while, and that he would be free from the attempts of the former to keep him in the straight path of conduct that alone could mean stability for his throne.

Nizam-ul-Mulk, finding that he was not wanted, pleaded sickness and retired to his provinces, with the further added title to his already lofty honours of *Asāf Jāh*, by which he was in future generally known.

And so while the Empire steadily fell into ruin, the wisdom and prestige of the great ruler kept the Deccan together, and he became what is generally known as the first Nizam, though that term owes its origin to the personal title of the first incumbent rather than to his position at Hyderabad. In consolidating his Viceroyalty, *Asāf Jāh* achieved, as the prestige of Delhi waned, a position that was practically independent.

Saadat Khan, the Persian who came with him and the Sayyad from the Deccan as already related, was rewarded with the Viceroyalty of Oudh, and like *Azāf Jāh*, became as the years rolled on, practically independent also.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MAHRATTA CONFEDERACY

We have seen the Mahratta Kingdom rise under the electric Sivaji and wane under his son and grandson to puppetdom under the Peshwa Balaji Wiswanath. Ere long King Sahu, in reward for the personal peace that his minister had brought to him, conferred the Peshwa-ship on him and his family in perpetuity.

Balaji Peshwa died in 1720, after organizing the Mahrattas as a definite state, and was succeeded, as just said, by his son Baji Rao I, a man of ability and unlimited ambition. While Muhammad Shah was securing his throne by the dubious and dangerous policy of surrendering to force that he was too weak to resist, and the Nizam was consolidating his own Deccan, several of the Mahratta generals were

coming to the front among their fellows. These were notably Ranaji Sindhia, at one time the Peshwa's slipper-boy,¹ Mulhar Rao Holkar once a trooper from the village of Hol, a man of humble caste but great determination, and Pilaji Gaikwar, i.e., Pilaji the cowherd.

They initiated a campaign against all the neighbouring states and governorships, which brought them to the very gates of the Imperial capital. By 1734, when Muhammad Shah had been fifteen years on his throne, they were carrying out their plundering expeditions and exacting *chouth*, and much more than *chouth*, or one fourth of the revenue, even across the Jumna itself. Saadat Ali from Lucknow had driven them away for a while, but only as a cow whisks away flies.

So reduced in prestige had the Emperor become, that in 1736 Baji Rao himself was actually plundering the suburbs of Delhi, the Mogul troops cowering within the walls. The Emperor, deprived of all effective support, again and again implored his old minister Asāf Jāh, to come to his assistance, making him Governor of the territories of Malwa as well as Gujarat to the north of the Deccan. The Nizam marched north with a large army, compelling the Mahrattas to withdraw for the moment, but formed a vast camp at Bhopal, where he tarried for more troops from the south.

This, had he realized it, but played into the hands of the Mahrattas, who employed the tactics that had so harassed Aurungzebe. With 90,000 horsemen, they laid waste all the adjacent country from which he could draw supplies. No longer could Bhangi-Jangi, the Brinjara pack-bullock tribesmen bring him supplies, they on whom Asāf Jāh, and sixty odd years later, Arthur Wellesley, relied for maintenance. The old distich of the countrysides runs thus :

¹ This early office is sometimes denied. Tantia-Topeh in 1858, hurled the reproach however at Jaijai Rao Sindhia.

" *Rangan ka pani, chappar ka Ghas.
Din ka tin kun muaf
Au jahan Asaf Jah ke ghore.
Wahan Bhangi-Jhangi ke bail.*

" Water and huts for the army,
Three murders a day pardoned,
Wherever Asaf Jah's cavalry are
There shall be the Brinjara's pack cattle."

But times were changed, and the Mahratta light horse would not let the *tandas*, the kafilas of the Brinjaras, come in, nor even left any supplies within a radius of a hundred miles from Asāf Jāh and his Arab, Afghan, and Turkish troops, who slowly starved.

The proud Nizam had no alternative but to ask for mercy, and the price of his freedom was surrendering to the Mahrattas the governorship of Malwa and all the territory between the Narbudda and Chambal rivers. Further he undertook to pay from the already impoverished Imperial treasury the sum of fifty lakhs of rupees. The Peshwa now divided the *subah* or province of Malwa into two, giving the westerly portion to Holkar and the easterly to Sindhia. This success over the hated Moslem and Mogul put many feathers in the Mahratta cap and increased their lawless and ruthless proclivities, and enhanced their desire for the rare and refreshing fruit of the *chouth*.

Then was to occur a catastrophe from which the Empire could not possibly recover, and which for a while held back even the Mahrattas.

THE COMING OF NADIR SHAH KULI

(1738)

Far away in Persia, as the Turkish Empire of Delhi was being submerged, there was arising another Turkish Emperor. Nadir Shah Kuli, 'The Slave of Destiny,' had made himself from a Turki shepherd into a leader of horse,

a conquering general, and a triumphant and powerful minister, till after the manner of his kind he slipped into the shoes of the decadent potentate whom he served. And having become Emperor of all the Persias, and interested himself in the age-old squabble for Herat and Kandahar, he set himself, for reasons largely predatory, or at best with the ambition of an Alexander, to call on his 'brother Turk,' and started on the invasion of India. While Southern India was falling away from Delhi, the Mogul power was still effective over the Punjab and the province of Kabul, whose people knew well whence the butter for their bread came. The Raj extended less certainly over Kandahar and the Cis-Oxus Turkestan. Into these provinces marched Nadir Shah, defeating the Imperial forces in the North, which now retired before him without further resistance, until, in 1738 he reached Delhi, the Emperor coming out to meet him. It was a preposterous position for the mighty Mogul, but that out-at-elbows potentate could offer no resistance. Perhaps the Persians in the country, both Aryan and Turk in their racial origin, were not with him.

Nadir Shah, bloated and truculent, took up free quarters for all his men in and near Delhi and proceeded to ascertain what was the transferable wealth in the Mogul pocket. The Mahratta was not forthcoming to defend the India he meant to make his own. There was no hope of help for the widow's son, and then an untoward occurrence happened. A rumour flew round Delhi that Nadir Shah was dead. There were sufficient stout hearts in the Mogul camp to have fought him, had they been led, and believing in the invader's death, they fell on the Persian soldiery who were pillaging the city. But Nadir Shah, unfortunately, was very much alive, and marched his army into the city to perpetrate wholesale massacre, in which neither age nor sex was spared.

Everything of value was seized and the very hearths were

dug for the household treasures. The great Peacock Throne, encrusted with jewels, made by the Emperor Shahjahan the Superb, went too, and valuables to the total, it was said, though no one could verify it, of thirty-two millions sterling. Nadir Shah, with some irony, then restored his 'brother Turk' to the emptied throne, minus, however, the Afghan provinces, which, as they adjoined Persia, he took for himself.

The misery thus caused was beyond description. Whatever recuperative power there might have been in the mighty Empire, which for generations after held prestige of memory in India, was gone. The Deccan, Malwa Gujarat, and all Rajasthan, either openly or implicitly, disregarded Delhi, both in authority and the rendering of revenue. Now "none so poor to do it reverence." The Bengal Viceroy Ali Verdi Khan, followed suit, and the Mahrattas' impudence now knew no bounds. Another feather in the freebooters' cap now accrued, for in 1739 the Peshwa's brother took Bassein from the now long-established Portuguese province, a blow which settled their prestige once and for all.

THE MAHRATTA CONFEDERACY, THE MOGUL AND THE AFGHAN

The year after the taking of Bassein, Baji Rao I died and Mahrattadom once more wanted a leader. Mahratta opinion often classes Baji Rao as second only to Sivaji himself in the making of the Mahrattas, while his son, Balaji Baji Rao, the new Peshwa, had little of his father in his character. Sindhia and Holkar now claimed that, in lieu of holding governorships granted to the Mahratta throne, they were independent sovereigns, a condition which another general, one Raguji Bonsla of the clan of Sivaji also claimed for the districts about Nagpur. 'The Bonsla,' as he was called, without consulting his Peshwa, who was still responsible for Mahratta policy, actually

ravaged the Viceroyalty of Bengal. The Emperor appealed to the Peshwa to stop such forays. As Raguji and Balaji Baji Rao were enemies, the latter was willing enough to do so, but Raguji was not to be put off and eventually compelled Ali Verdi, the Viceroy, to agree to his levying the *chouth*. In 1748 Sahu the King died in obscurity at Satara, and Poona became the Mahratta capital.

While all this was in progress the pillaged Empire was settling deeper in the trough of the sea of affliction. Bengal, Behar and Orissa cast off their allegiance with none to say them nay. The Jāt Chief of Bhurtpore, whose capital was the strongest fortress in India, set up 'on his own' without protest from any quarter. The Rajput states paid little revenue. The Punjab, too, at last followed the prevailing passion, to its own undoing. Muhammad Shah, however, had as his minister, Qamar-ud-din, a competent if ruthless Moslem, who continued to 'keep his end up' for a while among the welter of intrigues and disruption, to be followed in office by a grandson of Asāf Jāh. Never had the people of India suffered greater exactions, and then, as if there were not enough trouble, the Afghans, who had been subjects of Delhi till Nadir Shah's invasion, now actually invaded their neighbouring province of the Punjab. Nadir Shah had been murdered in 1747, and his treasure had been in the hands of his leader of horse, Ahmad of the Abdali clan. He now set up as the ruler of Afghanistan, calling his rule the Duranni Empire and invaded India. By the end of 1748 both Lahore and Multan were in his hands, and he even threatened Delhi.

Muhammed Shah sent his heir apparent, Prince Ahmad, and his vizier Qamar-ud-din against him, and the Afghans were defeated at Sirhind, but the vizier was killed. The strain was too much for the Emperor, who passed away after a troubled reign of twenty-nine years, and Prince Ahmad became Ahmad Shah, bearing, to the historians' confusion, the same name and title as his Afghan opponent.

The latter agreed to make peace if the revenues of the Afghan provinces on the Indus was paid with arrears.

The new Emperor was to have no better ride in the seat of Akbar than his father. He had summoned the aged Asāf Jāh to be his vizier, but that old soldier statesman, now 104, passed away en route, in the same year as the Peshwa and the Emperor. His son succeeded in the Deccan and his grandson Shahib-ud-din became vizier. The years that ensued are a pitiful record of the struggles for influence of the Turkish, Persian and Afghan—the 'Lords of Turan' and the 'Lords of Iran'—nobles, and in the end Ahmed Shah the Afghan obtained from the Moguls the complete surrender of the Punjab. Believing that the Emperor was intriguing with his enemy the Nawab of Oudh, the vizier now blinded both the Emperor and his mother, placing the former's son on the throne with the title of Alāmgir II. 'The World Grasper,' a title suitable enough for Aurungzebe was singularly out of place for the miserable puppet who was now to assume it.

In 1756 Shahib-ud-din thought he could recover the Punjab for the Empire, and started operations and manœuvres for that purpose. This brought the Afghan Emperor down to India again, for the fourth time, and he actually reached Delhi, but forgave the Emperor and his vizier and married his son to Alāmgir's daughter. To safeguard his interests, he placed a Rohilla chief in command of the Imperial Army. The Rohillas, Afghan colonists of long standing in the district east of Delhi, were entirely sympathetic with Kabul, and the new commander-in-chief made himself so obnoxious that the vizier who was more Indian than Moslem took the extreme step of calling up the Mahrattas again.

Raguba the brother of the Peshwa, nothing loath, marched for Delhi with a large force, and once there, remained, taking charge of the Emperor.

From Poona, from Indore, from Malwa, the Mahrattas

marched, all the bandit chivalry, all the princes, nobles, and squires, with even Wiswas Rao, the Peshwa's son, among them—"The hawk-winged horse of Damajee, mailed squadrons of the Bhao." But Raguba in all the might of his vast array of horse, and his trained Moslems and guns from the Nizam in the Deccan, overcalled his hand. He, too, was foolish enough to dream of driving the Afghans from the Punjab. Swiftly moving north, he actually seized Lahore, driving the Afghan troops across the Indus, thus fulfilling the prophecy that one day the Mahratta horse would water their horses in that mighty stream.

It was not to be expected that Ahmed Shah would stomach so great an affront. With all the cannon he could lay hands on and all the horsemen he could collect, he swept down from the mountains driving the Hindus before him, despite the Sikh contingent who had joined them. To him too, came prayers from the Rohillas for his help against Hindu dominion at Delhi and promises of a large contingent of Rohillas.

Ere the Afghan monarch could cross the Sutlej, the vizier deeming that Alāmgir II was intriguing with the Afghans, as well he might be, put him to death. His heir Prince Ali Johur who had been appointed Viceroy of long-lost Bengal was away trying to gain possession of that province. His son Jiwan Bakht was declared Emperor by the vizier and the Mahrattas. And now we have come to 1761, and the great tragedy that put an end once and for all to the Mahratta hopes, known to this day as 'The Battle of the Black Mango Tree.'

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE MAHRATTA HOST BY THE AFGHANS (1761)

Down from the mountains came the Abdali breathing fire and destruction. But Mahrattadom had tasted the red blood of dominion. Power was within its grasp. A

Mahratta Empire of India with Wiswas Rao as Emperor, was already, men said, in their minds. A Brahmin Emperor ! What a signal to the elect ! What a horror for the millions of the lower castes and of Islam ! The flower of the pirate confederacy had ridden to Delhi, Sudasheo the Bhow, Ranaji Sindhia, Mulhar Rao Holkar, with them the great yellow national banner, the Bhagwan Jhanda and countless chiefs and squires. The Afghans they had driven from the Deccan, and now the Afghans of the mountains, and the Rohilla colonist barons, should bite the dust ! But it was not so easy as that, and they had overcalled their hand again.

Sindhia and Holkar were driven back on Delhi, where huge re-inforcements however waited them, as also the various allied contingents. It is true that one had fallen away. Suraj Mull, the Jāt chief, had taken his contingent home, for he still held by the Mogul Raj as the true sign of Indian power. The looting of seventeen lakhs' worth of valuables from the Imperial palace by the Mahrattas was more than his loyalty would stomach.

On the 5th of October Sudasheo marched up from Delhi to Panipat and the Afghans crossed the Jumna. Soon the armies faced each other, each watching for the better grip. It was here that the last battle had been fought when Baber, the surprising Turk, defeated Ibrahim the last of the Lodi Emperors of Delhi, and took his throne.

From October 28th to January 6th, 1761, both sides shirked a decision. The Mahrattas numbered 70,000 horse and foot with 300 cannon. The Afghans and Rohillas 80,000 with but 70 cannon. Hosts of followers, including many women, were with the Mahrattas. The Afghans, despite their superior fighting fierceness, were hard put to maintain themselves, but the Mahrattas were even in worse state, for the Afghan horse, better mounted for combat, had cowed the light horse of the Deccan and that

served the Hindu host as the latter had served Asāf Jāh in years gone by. They were cut off from all supplies, while the Rohillas supplied the invaders. Sudasheo, however, was confident enough, with his huge artillery park, and in the trained infantry brought up from Hyderabad by Ibrahim Gardi.¹

Driven to put the matter to the test of battle by approaching starvation, Sudasheo sallied from his camp on 7th January, and attacked the Afghan entrenchments. Long and fierce was the struggle, till at last the masses of Afghan horse charged in on the flanks and through the gaps. The titanic struggle need not be described here, its details are well enough known. Mulhar Rao Holkar fled prematurely, and that settled it. The Mahrattas were completely overthrown and fled from the field, leaving hosts of prisoners, with all their camp and women.

Long was the night of slaughter in the open country by the lean Afghan knives. Wiswas Rao² and many of his leaders were slain. The Bhow was never heard of again, Sindhia escaped on a good Deccani mare. Next morning the Afghans beheaded many thousands of prisoners and apportioned the women. Mahrattadom was knocked out for many a year to come.

News of the defeat flashed through India in that mysterious cryptical bankers' tictac. This is how the message ran: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohrs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." It was as the news of Flodden Field in Scotland, and it killed the Peshwa.

Kipling has told something of it in that fierce romantic ballad: *With Scindia³ to Delhi*.

¹ So called because he had been trained in the French Guards of the Nizam.

² Some accounts said he was brought before Ahmad Shah and cut down.

³ The old-fashioned English rendering of "Sindhia."

Here is the triumphant beginning before Holkar failed.

"The children of the hills of Khost
before our lances ran,
We drove the black Rohilla back as
cattle to the pen,
'Twas then we needed Mulhar Rao to
end what we began
A thousand men had saved the charge ;
he left the field with ten.

The story in the ballad is told by Sindhia's henchman, and there was a wench in it, that at last threw herself to the Afghan who rode close on his heels, to lighten her lover's horse. Hark again to the henchman :

"I held by Scindia my lord as close
as man might hold
A soobah of the Deccan asks no aid
to guard his life
But Holkar's host were flying and our
chiefest chiefs were dead
And like a flame among us leapt the
long lean northern knife."

When all was over Ahmad Shah marched to Delhi once again, and once again too tried to bolster up for Islam the moribund Delhi throne. The Mahratta nominee emperor was ousted and his father the Prince Imperial Ali Johur, absent in Bengal, was put on the throne with the magnificent but now useless title of *Shāh Alām II*, 'King of the World.'

It was indeed little use. In the same year and the same month as Panipat, Ali Johur, fighting in Bengal with the Nawab of Oudh, was defeated by the British, to whom he then 'came in,' conferring on them the famous concession of the *Diwani* of Bengal, that is to say, the right to collect the revenue and, therefore, administer the resources. Thence he went to Delhi to take up the throne. The Mahrattas were gone, but the warring lords and factions remained to his undoing.

Three years later saw him, a fugitive from Delhi, and

marching with the Rohillas and the Nawab of Oudh. Beaten at Buxar by Major Hector Munro, Shah Alām came again to the British and was given the provinces of Kora and Allahabad to rule and their revenues to enjoy, and this was all that was left to him of Aurungzebe's Empire. As the Mahrattas recovered from Panipat, they came again to Delhi, but with a quarter of their former strength. They were strong enough to invite Shah Alām to return, which he did, but the British had no intention of allowing him to give the two provinces to the Mahrattas, and resumed them in order to preserve a barrier between Oudh and the reivers, a circumstance which allowed that ruler and his dynasty to hold on for three-quarters of a century longer. Shah Alām was now but a puppet between Rohilla and Mahratta, till at last the Rohilla chief Ghulam Qadir blinded him, in revenge it was said, for having been made a eunuch when a boy.

In 1785 the unfortunate Shah Alām invited Sindhia to Delhi, and the blinded wretch remained little better than a prisoner in a dungeon in the Mahratta hands, till twenty years later the British came to Delhi and restored the miserable to some personal comfort, some empty dignity and some revenue. That is the end of one of the most superb of the world's empires, and it is not uninteresting to have gazed on the poltroons who have sat on the Tartar throne since Bahadur Shah passed away.

This very brief account of the *Descensus Averno*, is, apart from its own drama, more than germane to our subject. It shows the loosening of the ties over the Rajput states, the setting up of the Viceregal governments as independent princes, the break-up of the authorized kingdom of Sivaji and his statutory minister, into the predatory states of the generals of the kingdom who are now among out major potentates. The sketch will also prepare the way for a discussion of the bogus problems of 'paramountcy.'

CHAPTER IV

THE BRITISH, THE NIZAM, AND THE MAHRATTAS

The State of India after Panipat. The Nizam, the British, and Mysore. The First British Contacts with the Mahrattas. The Second Mahratta War, 1803-1804. The Third Mahratta War, 1804-1805.

THE STATE OF INDIA AFTER PANIPAT

THE last chapter brought history up to the blinding of Shah Alām and his durance with the Mahrattas, but we may hark back a quarter of a century and see how India and the Princes' States stood after the battle of Panipat, *vis-à-vis* the Mogul Emperor.

We have seen that Panipat removed the Mahratta domination and for a brief moment restored the Emperor, but it was at best a restoration that needed a Baber to profit by. To a Shah Alām it was but a shadow. The position may be thus summed up.

1. The whole of the old Afghan possessions up to the Oxus were in the hands of the Abdalli and gone for ever.
2. The Punjab even had been ceded to him by Delhi.
3. Sind had for the time asserted an independence even from the Abdalli, under the Kalloras.
4. Rohilkand, the province occupied by the Afghan barons and soldier colonists, had asserted independence under Najib-ud-Daulat. The actual people were Hindus and terribly oppressed by their overlords.
5. Oudh was nominally a Mogul province still, and its ruler, by the title Vizier of the Empire, was Viceroy.
6. Bengal, Behar and Orissa were united under the Nawab Mir Jaffa who was supported by the British, and as far as Delhi went, independent.
7. The Rajput states were entirely independent, but now paid regularly, and reluctantly, *chouth* to the Mahrattas, the principal being Jeypore, Jodhpore

and Oodipore. They had taken part with the Mahrattas in the disaster of Panipat.

8. The Mahrattas now consisted of five principal chiefs, owing but nominal allegiance if any to the Peshwa. They were, the Peshwa about Poona with the provinces of Jhansi and Kalpi which carried him to the Jumna, Holkar and Sindhia dividing Malwa, the Gaikwan in Gujarat, the Bonsla in the Berars. Further there was now a Mahratta chief in Tanjore, and the Nizam had ceded Bijapore and most of Aurungabad to them also. Their southern influence had not been seriously injured by their great defeat in the North.
9. Bhurtpore, the state of the Jāts had broken away after the death of Aurungzebe. In Bundelkand, between Agra and Jeypore were several small princelets, and on the borders of Malwa, an Afghan chief had created a state of which Bhopal was the capital, though both the Bundelkand chiefs and Bhopal itself, were overrun by the Mahrattas.
10. In the Deccan the Nizam was independent but shorn of some of his territories by the Mahrattas.
11. The Nawab of the Carnatic had long been under the Nizam's control, but, now supported by the British, was independent. Certain other chiefs, at one time controlled by the Nizam, were in a similar position.
12. The Portuguese power as already related had gone, with no power of '*resurgam*,' and the years of struggle between the British and French, except so far as it effects the Nizam is beyond the boundaries of this book. The British had even then little enough territory, thirty-eight villages round Calcutta and four strips of land round their ports in the Carnatic, but their political influence in Bengal and in the Carnatic was supreme, as the supporters of the

Nawabs who were in being, against other claimants. Prestige moreover was very high. There were statesmen and ambassadors among the old factors and the soldiers of the Company, who struck a note that was quite new to Indian ears.

THE NIZAM, THE BRITISH, AND MYSORE

We now begin to touch the relationships that endure to this day with the states and princes. The Carnatic and Bengal went under through the folly of their rulers, but the wisdom of the Nizam and the treaties that he made will become apparent. Similarly we shall see the folly of the Mahrattas in breaking more than one lance with us, before compelled to enter into the new 'Mogul' Empire.

We have seen how the Mahrattas had succeeded in extracting many tail-feathers from the heritage of Asāf Jāh. The real fact is that southern India is a Hindu country with no great veneer of Islam, and no great martial aptitude among its races. The stream of Turks and Afghans from the north was growing thin, their predecessors from the north who had settled, were breeding children of Indian women, whose fighting energy was lessening. In fact, the Nizam's Moslem troops, now referred to as 'Moguls' were not what they they had been.

It has been recorded how the great Nizam-ul-Mulk died in 1748, aged 104, while on his way to Delhi, summoned to take up the viziership once again. A struggle arose between his second son Nasir Jung, and his great-nephew Muzuffar Jung for the succession. Supported by the French, Muzuffar Jung defeated Nasir, who withdrew, and after some manœuvring, was declared Subahdar of the Deccan or, as we should now say, Nizam, though that term was really but the personal title of Chin Chillik Khan Asāf Jāh. Nasir Jung, however, was not at all prepared to accept the situation, and advanced with a large army towards

Pondicherry, the French main settlement. With him marched a British detachment, and Muzuffar Jung surrendered to his uncle who now resumed the Subahdari.¹ Ere long Nasir was murdered by rebellious Pathan chiefs and again the French supported Muzuffar Jung, who now succeeded. He profited little, however, by his brother's death, being himself killed in an ambush in 1751. The French immediately caused Salabat Jung, Asāf Jāh's third son to be proclaimed. Thus like the throne itself at Delhi, the *Subahdari* had fallen for a while into the hands of king-makers, this time French ones. Salabat Jung remained on the throne of Asāf Jāh for eleven years, during which time he and his younger brother Nizam Ali, alternately fought each other and combined.

Now supervened a long period in which French, English, Mahrattas, and the Nizam were involved in constant combinations, but in 1751 British influence appeared dead before the French and of no account in politics. Then it was that the meteoric and almost miraculous rise of Clive changed the whole landscape. The victory over the French at Wandewash nine years later, and shortly after Panipat, entirely dispossessed them as potential rulers of India or even a power on the south coast. But they still retained influence at the courts of the competing princes, as many of their officers and men took service there.

In the meantime, however, another power had arisen, which still more inclined the Nizam to ally himself with the growing British. The old Hindu states of the south had been reduced to subjection by the Moguls, and their dominions taken from them or sadly reduced. The Hindu state of Mysore, however, remained greatly reduced under Mogul vassalage. With the waning Mogul power it, under the leadership of its Moslem general, Haidar Ali, and Moslem troops, gained some semi-independence, and was always a factor in the dog-worry between the Nizam and

¹ *Subah* means a province, and *Subahdar* is a province-holder.

Mahrattas, gaining strength as the latter weakened each other. In 1759, Haidar after defeating the Mahrattas enthroned himself, and he and his sons developed a mighty Moslem power, with troops trained by the French, and French soldiers in their pay. They soon proved to be the most formidable of the opponents of the British during the last half of the eighteenth century. There were four Anglo-Mysore Wars in the forty years after Haidar's succession, as already noted, and in both the last two, in 1792 and 1799, the British developed great armies, and severely defeated the usurper.

Before this, however, internecine war in the Deccan continued between British, Mysore, Nizam, and Mahratta in ever-changing combinations, in which the Nizam's dominions grew gradually less. In 1762 Nizam Ali dethroned and sent to death his brother Salabat Jung. Nizam Ali had many years yet to run before realizing that his only salvation from the Mahrattas was in entering into firm alliance with the British. The devastating quarrels and combinations continued till the century drew near to its close. Late in the nineties, the Nizam had even gone so far as to dismiss a British Brigade from his service.

We need not follow the transactions of all these years, but sufficient here to say that the active intrigues of General Bonaparte in the affairs of Southern India made the Governor-General, Lord Mornington, later the Marquis Wellesley, decide that the French influence must be excluded from all Indian courts. It was he who first visualized our destiny in India, and saw that we must bring all the states into 'Subsidiary' alliance, smash the Mahratta ambitions to rule, and induce them to accept a peaceful existence as separate states. The resulting conflicts as well as the earlier Mahratta Wars will be told after the story of the ending of French influence.

Mornington had arrived early in 1798, bringing with him the famous Major Kirkpatrick, who had been Resident

at both the Nizam's and Sindhia's courts, from whom he obtained a clear conception of what the Indian States meant at that period.

Tippoo, despite his severe defeat six years earlier by Lord Cornwallis, had disregarded all his engagements and was expanding his fighting forces, even calling on the Durani Emperor to enter India and come to him, as his grandfather, Ahmad Shah, had to come to help the Rohillas.

Years of ineffective government at Fort St. George (Madras) had allowed the influence of the French 'adventurers' to become consolidated at Hyderabad under the famous M. Raymond. A contingent of 15,000 men, with a large park of artillery, officered by French officers, largely Republican, and cantoned there, was a formidable body.¹ These officers were in constant communication with their countrymen in Tippoo's service. Tippoo was in correspondence with the Governor of Mauritius and expected a large French contingent, in connection with Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt. Although a very small expedition eventually arrived, the situation was not one that could be accepted by Britain. The first step was to replace French influence at Hyderabad, since both the French officers at Hyderabad and those in Mysore breathed intense hatred towards the British.

Further north with Sindhia, there were many French officers in the forces, numbering 40,000, trained by the Count de Boigne. The officers there belonged rather to the '*Ancien Régime*,' but might at any moment act with the French at Hyderabad and in Mysore.

M. Raymond had died in 1798 and been succeeded by the far less effective M. Piron.

The invasion of Mysore, provoked by the most extraordinary outrages against the British subjects and Britons themselves, and by the intrigues of the French, compelled

¹ Its battalion carried the French Revolutionary colours. The cap of Liberty was reproduced on the buttons of the Cipaye's uniforms.

action at Hyderabad also. The Governor-General ordered a large force to be prepared to march on Seringapatam and turned his attention to Hyderabad, where the minister was on the side of the English influence and needed protection, and was fully aware of the dangerous position of the 'Mogulai'¹ between the Mahrattas and the ferocious Tippoo. A brigade of Madras native infantry 4000 strong marched on Hyderabad, and the Resident demanded the dismissal of the French. This after some demur was agreed to. The sepoy of M. Piron's contingent were in no very happy state as their pay was in arrears. The French officers accepted, and claimed British protection, but their sepoy would not let them go without delivering up the arrears of pay. The able management and address of Captain, afterwards the celebrated Sir John, Malcolm saved what looked like bloodshed, and the French sepoy largely re-enlisted into a contingent officered by British officers, the *cipaye*² becoming sepoy. That crisis was over. Zeman Shah, the Durani Emperor now proposed, not, as Tippoo wanted, a counterstroke against British influence, but a joint Afghan-British attack against the Mahrattas. This was not at all in Lord Mornington's programme. He was intent on getting a complete India, or at any rate southern and central India, under British leadership, as the only solution of the internecine state of affairs, and he well knew the bitter hatred for everything Afghan in the country at large.

He did a much more statesmanlike thing; he called on Sindhia to join the British in resisting the Afghan invader, but this did not suit the latter's book, whose hands were full of quarrels with the other Mahrattas.

By February 1799, the 'Grand Army' advanced under General Harris on Mysore, 21,000 strong, and with it went 10,000 of the Nizam's troops, including 4000 of the ex-

¹ The country of the Moguls, as it was, and is still, called.

² Sepoy—*Sipahi*—*cipaye*—*spahi*.

French sepoys under Captain Malcolm, supported by another 6000 British-Indian troops from the Bombay side. The storming of Seringapatam and the death of Tippoo is a well-known story. He could, had his arrogance permitted, have saved himself by negotiation. His lands were shared between the restored Hindu state of Mysore, the Nizam and the British, with some portion for the Peshwa, who was in alliance, but whose forces did not on this occasion share in the campaign as they did in 1792.

Thus ended the Fourth Mysore War, and the Moslem kingdom, once and for all, followed by the institution of the British-protected Hindu state of Mysore, which with some vicissitudes has endured and progressed to the successful position which it holds to-day. The Nizam, who save in early days had had no wars with the British, was now firmly established as an ally. British prestige was immense, as was that of the Nizam, who was admired for his cleverness in 'spotting the winner', even though he had been long about it.

THE FIRST BRITISH CONTACT WITH THE MAHRATTAS

Brief allusion has been made to the Mahrattas and Bengal or Oudh, and the measures that had been taken by Clive and his successors to keep them out of the provinces of our allies and protégés. The contact had come both in the east and in the west. Their demand for *chouth* was always the cause there.

The office of Peshwa was to undergo much the same kind of tragedy and difficulty as have been traced in the case of the Mogul and Nizam's thrones, after the death of Ballajee Rao from the shock of Panipat. The young Peshwa Mahdoo Rao died soon after this in 1771. He was succeeded by another lad, his brother, Narayan Rao, who was murdered a few months later, with the greatest savagery and cruelty, by regular infantry, mutinying for want of pay.

Rugonath Rao or Rugobha, their uncle assumed the Peshwaship as next of kin in 1773, but then it was discovered that the widow of Narayan Rao was *enceinte*. His position therefore was not readily accepted, and in 1774 a posthumous son was born to Narayan Rao, and installed as Peshwa when forty days old. Rugobha was not prepared to acknowledge this step. He moved to the Tapti with the troops of Sindhia and following what was now becoming the usual routine, appealed to the British. The Bombay Government agreed to assist Rugobha in return for certain cessions and actually recovered Gujarat for him. But the Governor of Bengal, then Warren Hastings, had now become Governor-General and he and his Council did not approve. They sent an over-riding envoy to Poona to settle a new treaty. Had their envoy given an order, war might have been prevented, but as he was courteous and non-insistent, the Mahratta Brahmins became excessively arrogant, and demanded not only Gujarat, but the person of Rugobha. The peremptory tone of the terms changed the attitude of the Bengal Council. Complications, including the arrival at Poona of a French agent with promise of large French reinforcements, induced the Bombay Government, which had now the approval of the Directors in London, to march troops on Poona. The affair being badly handled, there followed a disastrous retreat, and the humiliating, and quite unnecessary, convention, by the commander and politicals on the spot, of Wurgaoon¹ in 1778. The Governments repudiated it and Mr. Hastings took energetic steps to restore British prestige. The campaign that followed, which included the march of Goddard from Bengal to Surat, and the famous incident of the storming of Sindhia's fortress on the Rock of Gwalior, is known as the First Mahratta War. It lasted seven years from first to last, and the British gained much military renown. It ended in 1782 with the treaty of Salbai, in which both sides, Sindhia and the

¹ Also spelt Wargaoon or Wadagoo, and in early books Wurgaoon.

Peshwa for the Mahrattas, gained some of their desires, and Rugobha was removed as a claimant to the Peshwaship.

THE SECOND AND THIRD MAHRATTA WARS

The First Mahratta War of 1778 was the first that brought the ambitious but quarrelling fraternity into touch with the growing influence of the British Governor-General. Before that, Clive, and Admiral Watson by sea, and the Peshwa by land, had combined to put an end to the pirate Tulaji Angria, and had captured his stronghold Geriah in 1758. We see that the failing influence of the Peshwa had set free the other Mahratta chiefs to follow their own devices, and this meant sharp internecine quarrels, and when they coalesced against external forces, such coalescing was a matter of negotiation rather than that of summons from their head. Already we have seen the Gaikwar protected by the British from the others. After 1782 a British subsidiary force was stationed at Poona, at the Peshwa's request, with but one short interval, till the collapse of that prince, as he had now become, in the Fourth Mahratta War of 1817. The protection that was afforded him was against Sindhia and Holkar, and at times against the Nizam.

The story of all that took place between 1778 and the decisive Second Mahratta War in 1803 is far too intricate to be told, but suffice it to say that the affairs of the Peshwa were in the hands of the famous Brahmin Nana Furnavis, and did not go too far afield until the latter's death in 1800.

In 1793, young Mahdoo Rao II, just emerging from tutelage, and chaffing at the Nana's control, committed suicide, after nominating his cousin Baji Rao II, as Peshwa. Then ensued a period of permutations and commutations as well as pie-crust treaties, all aiming at the control, in one form or another of Malwa and the Deccan. In 1801, Holkar, who had engaged the Chevalier Dudrenac and his mercenary

French-trained battalions, fought the Peshwa and Sindhia outside Poona, under the nose of the British subsidiary force, which in view of Baji Rao's failure to carry out his treaties, stood inactive. Holkar was victorious, and the beaten force retired, actually passing through the British cantonment. On the last day of the year the frightened Peshwa, who had not unnaturally incurred the bitter enmity of Holkar by dragging his brother to death at an elephant's foot—the tender ruth of a Mahratta—concluded a fresh treaty with the British at Bassein, by which his subsidiary force was to be completed and he himself to be reinstated, and protected so long as he abided thereby.

In his absence Holkar had seated Baji Rao's brother on the Peshwa's throne, which was not acceptable.

This treaty was the sort of arrangement that Lord Mornington desired for the peace of India, so that the great raging principalities should be protected one against the other by a British force allied with their own. It was known as the 'Subsidiary System' and had great promise of peace for Hindustan, especially in war-torn Malwa and Deccan, with promise also of prosperity for this long-harassed continent.

Let us now turn to the progress of the mighty Sindhia since, in 1785, Hastings had left India, when there was a period of eighteen months before his successor Lord Cornwallis arrived. In this period Sindhia, having gone to Delhi, had been made by Shah Alum II, the Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial forces, such as they were. This only put the coping-stone to the Mahratta preponderance in the attenuated remnant of the Empire, which had been reviving as already related, since the overthrow of Panipat. Sindhia indeed had but to add himself and the other Mahrattas to the Imperial domain to make an outward show of Imperial resurrection, and the still revered Mogul seal was in his hands. It was now his object despite the treaty of Salbai to organize India against the Westerners.

But far too much water had run under the bridge of time since Panipat for this to be possible.

The emperor was blind and practically in a Mahratta dungeon, and Lord Mornington saw the issue clearly enough. His brother Arthur Wellesley's memorandum on the Mahrattas is one of the most remarkable of all his wise papers. It had long been apparent that Sindhia was overcalling his hand, although his power had been allowed to grow very great. The Doaba, the country between the Ganges and Jumna had been assigned by him to the Count de Boigne, to pay for the great westernized army that he, even more than his rival Holkar, now maintained. At Agra a Scot, one Sangster, cast splendid cannon for de Boigne. There was no hope of peace here, the spirit of *chouth* was too well known, and shining through the screen was the ambition of Napoleon Bonaparte, now in Egypt. It was one thing to get and keep the Peshwa fairly in hand, another to manage Holkar and the Bonsla, who were far away. Yet a dozen years earlier Goddard had marched right across Central India almost with impunity. The Governor-General decided that he would call the Mahratta bluff, and above all have them out of Delhi, where they did not belong. There was another factor to be anxiously watched. The spectre of the Afghans was still there. Zeman Shah was not the man his father was, men said, but he had crossed the Indus once more. The Mahratta alone could not withstand him. Mahratta Jāt and the British together could soon show him where his rightful frontier lay, and at best he was but a ruler of a run-away Mogul fief, for all his terrorism.

Pondering these things, this astounding Governor-General made his plans. His brother Arthur Wellesley commanded a regiment of H.M. Foot, and had, he knew, great qualities. The army of the south had destroyed Tippoo, who could not let well alone. The pirate princes of India should not prevail!

Before the Governor-General opened his measures against Sindhia, there were matters to settle elsewhere. Tanjore in the South was a Mahratta state founded by Sivaji's father. There had been a failure in the succession, but a perfectly good adoption. This heir the British installed, ousting an usurper. The Nawab of the Carnatic had just died, but had been detected in fore-sworn intrigue with Tippoo. His nephew was accepted as heir, but deposed and given a large revenue. Oudh was in great turmoil through bad administration. There the British had ample treaty rights for interference, and the Nawab had been removed, and his more effective relative Saadat Ali given the throne. The deposed Nawab succeeded in murdering the Resident and staff at Benares, and was removed a prisoner to Calcutta. Under pressure, the new Nawab executed a fresh treaty, and, in the interests of the defence of Oudh from the Mahrattas and Afghans, was called on to disband many of his worthless troops, and support a larger British subsidiary force. Cora, Allahabad and Rohilkhand were handed over for this purpose. The condition of Oudh as regards administration and justice would have justified putting an end to the state at that time, instead of over fifty years later. As it was, the territory remaining to the Nawab Vizier was the whole of the vast province of Oudh proper. With the stage thus cleared of lesser causes, Lord Mornington now called on Sindhia to enter into a definite alliance for the peace and well-being of the land.

Before this, however, British prestige in India had been much enhanced by the sending in 1801 of an expedition of 7000 troops, largely Indian, to march from Kosseir on the Red Sea to Cairo, there to assist in the defeat of the French. They arrived too late, but their march was a great example of their efficiency.

The Treaty of Bassein between the British and Baji Rao, had been made without the consent of the other

Mahratta chiefs, and Baji Rao was ready enough to intrigue against it, almost as soon as he had signed it, despite the fact that Holkar's nominee still reigned at Poona. When Major Collins presented the ultimatum from Lord Wellesley, as Lord Mornington had now become, Sindhia protested to him that his agency should have been employed in this latter treaty as in that earlier one of Salbai. While discussing this with Major Collins he was negotiating with Holkar and the Bonsla, to form a joint confederacy against the British. In the meantime it was necessary for the British to carry out their share of the Treaty of Bassein by replacing the Peshwa, who was still with them at Bassein, on his *gaddi*. It was feared that Holkar, and Amrut Rao his nominee, would burn the city, and to save this Arthur Wellesley was to bring up a force from Bombay while the Nizam's subsidiary force, and a large number of the Nizam's own troops marched up from the Deccan under Colonel Stevenson. Wellesley pushed forward with his cavalry which included some Mysore Horse, covering sixty miles in thirty-two hours. Holkar withdrew, Amrut Rao fled, and was eventually pensioned by the British. In 1803 Baji Rao was escorted into Poona. Holkar was invited to come and discuss matters, while Sindhia was asked to explain his actions which were well known to the Governor-General. General Arthur Wellesley was to act as the Governor-General's agent and he at once proposed that Sindhia and the Bonsla should withdraw their forces to their own territory promising that the British would do the same. Holkar had not joined with them and was playing a hand of his own. He was a man of strange temperament, a natural son of his predecessor, who had seized the throne.

The confederate chiefs refused the proposals and war had practically begun by August 1803. Lord Wellesley's preparations were considerable. Besides the forces under Stevenson and Arthur Wellesley, there was a force in

Gujarat, another in Southern-Mahratta land, and 10,500 men under General Lake in Hindustan with a reserve at Allahabad. The large forces of Sindhia faced both Wellesley and Lake, while the Bonsla's forces were with his western wing.

We need not follow the famous campaign which is covered by many battle clasps on the old 'Army of India' medal. Wellesley opened by carrying the strong fort at Ahmednagar, which formed a base for his operations. Advancing into Berar, Sindhia and the Bonsla were beaten in the desperate battle of Assaye, and again at Argaum, and the fortress of Ghawilghur stormed. On the western front fierce fighting and storming followed, Allighur, Delhi, Agra, Laswari, being names of four battles fought by Lord Lake. Delhi was occupied and the blind Mogul emperor released. With Lord Lake were also 5000 horse from Bhurtpore. The end of the year was the end of the strenuous and brilliant campaigns. The Bonsla gave up Cuttack which he had overrun, and accepted a subsidiary force, handing also the Berars to the Nizam, and agreed never to attack him. Sindhia was loath to come to terms, but was told that a reasonable treaty of peace, or annexation, were the only alternatives. Reluctantly he accepted and relinquished his ill-gotten gains in the Doab, most of his conquests in Rajputana, and all his possessions in the Deccan and Khandesh other than private estates. He also resigned all claims on the Nizam, the Gaikwar, and the Peshwa. He agreed to enter into a defensive alliance, and maintain 6000 troops for the general good, but this item was not carried out. He remained, this Daulat Rao Sindhia, a great prince ruling a great province, which was principally the share of Malwa originally given to his ancestors. All his French officers were removed.

Thus ended the Second Mahratta War of 1803, a most remarkable campaign on the part of the British lasting but four months, including battles and stormings innumerable in four different quarters.

In the meantime the great Nizam Ali had died¹ after a reign of forty-one years and was succeeded by Sikander Jah, his eldest son. Many treaties and agreements were now carried out by Lord Lake, as he now became. The Mogul rendered up his few territories remaining round Delhi, but dwelt in state and majesty and consideration on handsome allowances within the great fortress palace of Delhi, blessing the British, who so restored his personal dignities and comfort.

Sindhia's dangerous power was broken once and for all, but Holkar had kept out of the whole business, being engaged in mopping up small fry in the north. To him, however, were now flocking all the broken mercenary soldiery from the theatres of the late war, and this the British could not tolerate. He, moreover, proceeded to devastate part of Sindhia's territory which at once brought the British to the fore as the latter's new ally. Holkar having long been Sindhia's enemy had but rejoiced at the latter's disaster, but now expressed his desire to "fight Lake," and take Sindhia's place in Hindustan. This brought on a war that is known as the Third Mahratta War, quite distinct from, though following closely on, the last.

THE THIRD MAHRATTA WAR. 1804

When Holkar showed himself determined to break a lance, the Governor-General was not the man to be backward. Regardless of the season, for it was now April, he ordered Lake and Wellesley to answer Holkar's inroads by a counter-invasion. Famine in the Deccan prevented Wellesley complying, but Colonel Murray advanced on Indore from the west. As the rains were now setting in, the bulk of the British went into cantonments, although Colonel Monson with five sepoy battalions and 2000 horse belonging to Sindhia and Jeypore, remained several hundred

¹ August, 1803.

miles out in observation, and actually advanced without much forethought or precaution, into a country badly devastated, with very inadequate supplies of his own. Murray from Gujarat with whom Monson had some hope of co-operating had gone into cantonments for shelter from the rains, and on July 8th Monson commenced a retreat to the Jumna, arriving at Kotah on the 12th, after having been vigorously attacked by Holkar *en route*. The Rajah of Kotah refused all assistance and the force, some of its components fighting gallantly but mishandled and weary, eventually broke into a rabble, and arrived after the most pitiful and miserable flight, at Agra on August 31st, less arms and cannon, and everything that made up an army.

No disaster of a similar nature had yet occurred to our arms in India ; the humiliation of Wurgaoon was nothing to it. It disturbed all those who had made up their minds to accept our position, and for years it was to have repercussions in spite of what followed. We had turned out to be not invincible after all ! and Holkar's savagery to the sepoy prisoners was a sign of the rage and contempt in his heart. At the head of 60,000 horse, 15,000 infantry, and with 192 guns, he advanced on Muttra whence the garrison withdrew. Then he turned on Delhi. There the famous soldier-politician, Colonel Ouchterlony known for many years after in India as Lony Ochter *Sahib*, and the stout Colonel Burn with a small force of sepoys, put up a remarkable defence, so famous, that the old India Medal bears a clasp *Defence of Delhi*, as well as *Battle of Delhi* for Lake's victory over Sindhia's force of Frenchmen the year before. It retrieved to some extent the Monson disaster.

But Lord Lake was not the man to let the grass grow under foot however heavy the rains. With a force of light dragoons and Indian cavalry, followed by his infantry, he marched hard up the Jumna. Holkar broke off the siege and burst into the Doab between the Ganges and Jumna, spreading fire and sword and acting with revolting cruelty

to all suspected of favouring the English Peace. General Fraser came up with his infantry at last at Deig, and attacked with great *élan*. The general fell, but Monson avenged his own disaster and gained a complete victory, in which Holkar lost 2000 men and 87 guns. In the meantime Lake was pelting after Holkar and his vast body of horse, who were making for Furruckabad, which they devastated. Here Lake, after one of the most remarkable cavalry feats in history, came up and surprised his force at dawn, scattering it to the four winds of heaven. Holkar fled to his beaten infantry at Deig, where Lake stormed that fortress, and Holkar escaped a fugitive, with hardly a feather left him.

The failure of Monson had led the Rajah of Bhurtpore to foreswear his British alliance and join with Holkar, and into that fortress, almost the strongest in India, well garrisoned by Jāts and Pathan mercenaries, Holkar threw the remnant of his infantry.

Then Lake made a great error of judgment. He sat down to storm and siege. Joined by a force from Bombay, four times did he hurl his troops at the inadequate breaches made by his light guns, for he had no heavy. Four times was he beaten off with heavy losses especially in the famous and hitherto invincible 76th Foot, which had been his mainstay so long.

Outside, Holkar, with the remnant of his force and Amir Khan the Pindari chief, endeavoured to relieve the fortress. This, Lake was quite strong enough to resist, and the Jāt Rajah after sending his congratulations to Lord Lake on his elevation to the peerage, asked for terms. These were arranged satisfactorily to all concerned save to the killed and wounded, who numbered over 3000 on the British side alone. But Bhurtpore paid a war indemnity and lost most of the advantages that had accrued to him through his broken treaty of amity. Unfortunately, the story of untaken Bhurtpore, added to Monson's disaster, was talked more of

in the bazaars and courts of India than the compensating victories. At any rate Lake had no more men or time to spare ; he had meant to take Bhurtpore in his stride, and the pursuit and finishing of Holkar was the only thing that mattered. Two of Sindhia's officers had already joined the former and Sindhia himself might also lose his sense of proportion in the temptation of the moment. He or some of his people had attacked the Resident in his camp and held him prisoner. A British force from Bundelkhand, however, advanced to set this right, and Sindhia found it was an accident ! although he was joined by Holkar himself till Lake advanced.

In England the magnitude and cost of Wellesley's operations had caused alarm. He was this year succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, now an old man, with orders to reverse the Marquis' policy of conquest. Fortunately, Lord Cornwallis passed away, a broken man, before the more disastrous part of his instructions could be carried out, which would have thrown India back into the Mahratta uproar. Lord Lake wrote a spirited remonstrance, which the Governor-General never received, and in the meantime Holkar had left Malwa.

CHAPTER V

RAJASTHAN AND THE RAJPUT CHIEFS

The Rajput Chiefs and the Mahrattas. Who are the Rajputs. The Rajputs and the Hindu Social System. The Rajputs States to the Fall of the Moguls. The Sacas of Chitoor. The Second Saca. The Third Saca. Some Rajput Sagas. Rescued by the British from the Mahrattas.

THE RAJPUTS AND THE MAHRATTAS

THE success of the first serious attempt of the Governor-General of British India to secure the peace of the whole continent, spoilt though it was by pusillanimity, or perhaps the terror of the Company at the vista that unfolded, brought in its train a remarkable relationship. There had been since the break up of the Mogul Empire, a fierce struggle and hatred between the Mahrattas and their bandit chiefs and the Rajput Princes and States. That struggle and hatred went on till the Pindari War, about to be described, settled the matter once and for all, but the instinctive dislike and enmity not only occupied the attention and skilled diplomacy of the political agents for many years, but endures to this day. It has been said that it is one of those instinctive subconscious animosities of race of which there are many instances in the world. The hatred in this case of the Aryan Rajput descended of the white conquerors, of India towards the Dravidian or semi-Dravidian Mahratta,¹ and of the Mahratta for the conqueror of several thousand years ago, may be at the bottom of it.

The antipathy is likely to have some repercussions in the future of the Federalization, which the new India Act adumbrates. Because the whole story may lay far back in the mists of time, and because the Rajput States stand in a romantic and peculiar position to the British throne and are also the shrines of the old Hindu civilization, a few

¹ The possibility of Rajput blood being mingled in their upper-crust has been already mentioned.

words on their origin, supplementing the summary given in Chapter I, are essential to a correct understanding of their story and position to-day. This point in the historical outline when the British Government is first coming to its supreme position, is perhaps the place to dwell on it. The Rajput States and Chiefs, who were being overwhelmed by the great Mahratta forces, eagerly entered into a protective alliance, which they have enthusiastically maintained ever since.

WHO ARE THE RAJPUTS OF INDIA ?

Who are the Rajputs of India ? That has been outlined in brief in Chapter I, but the subject will bear some further treatment, since a very little acquaintance with India will show that people who are spoken of as 'Rajput' are to be met with in many parts of India. From Kathiawar in the west on the shore of the Indian Ocean across to the Himalayas and far Nepal, and again even to the Indus in the north-west and deep into Dravidian India to the south do we hear of them.

It has been explained that this term is applied to all those admitted as descendants of the old white warriors from the steppes of Central Asia, those Aryans who went from their original matrix in three streams to Europe by way of the Caucasus, to Iran, and thirdly over the Oxus through the Afghan hills to India. There they began colonizing and conquering, using the plains of India, and the rivers that water them as their lines of penetration. Thus the five rivers of the Punjab, and the mighty Jumna and Mother *Gunga*, the Ganges itself, became in a few hundred years full of their descendants. At some time they had penetrated up the valleys of the Himalayas, and slowly through the Aravalli Mountains which 'grew low for them,' and through the more penetrable portions of the Central Indian jungles. Their vigorous loins soon peopled the great wide plains with their white progeny, as also their

multitudinous unions with the Dravidian and Aboriginal peoples whom they encountered. It is very desirable in our future outlook on India, that we should realize that the high caste folk of India, kept pure by their jealous racial rules, are as white as we Aryans of the West.

There must have been some great tribal or national leaders, priests and rulers, who succeeded in evolving the rules of caste and anchoring it to their growing religious system. Intermarriage with non-Aryan classes was ere long avowed tabu, and then lest the strain be diluted and lost, the progeny of the miscegenation of the young warriors and explorers were outcaste and almost as inadmissible as the conquered Dravidians and aboriginals. It was the white race and then the black, as fiercely as in North America, and the brown of the high castes is the brown of æons of sun, as distinct from skin born black from the beginning. We know how fiercely traceable, if only by tradition, is a negro strain in the United States. The same extreme sense of Aryanism or white-bloodism, has we see, seized the good German of the Hitler faith, save only it has not yet thought of the Mongolism that haunts the Prussian, with his Tartar skull and cheekbones !

THE RAJPUT AND THE HINDU SOCIAL SYSTEM

As the Aryan had conquered most of India, and the Hindu (which is but another form of the word 'India') system had become universal, there came, as far as the religious form of Hinduism went, a catastrophe. A social system had been evolved for the whole of India, in which the motto was 'a place for every one and every one in its place,' in other words a system, in which the descendants of the white races, led by their holy priesthood, guided a medley of alien or half-bred people, with every degree of mixed blood, in one vast order. Everyone—and almost everyone wished to be sib to these clever white people—

could come under the Hindu umbrella, as long as he accepted the place that was offered him, at varying distance from the sun of the centre and the rings of white folk near thereto. Then for many hundreds of years this system disappeared before Buddhism, only to be reconstructed in the end.

This Hindu conception, still more keenly held after the reconstruction which will be described, was for the whole of India to the Oxus. There was no train of national or religious thought to compete with it, save far off in Persia, where it was evolving on different lines.

Then came the rift aforesaid. Five hundred years and more before Christ there arose the philosophic teaching of the Rajput Prince turned devotee and reformer, known throughout the world to this day as Buddha the 'enlightener.' Because presumably the Hindu system was too complicated, Buddhism began to spread as a way of life. In five hundred years Brahminism, and all its teaching had disappeared from the face of India, save in the forests and desert pot-holes. The faith of the gentle Buddha was held by high and low. And then the mysterious, dormant power of the Brahmin religion, re-awakened, and Buddhism rolled away like a mist, passing over the Himalayas to Tibet, to China, and to Japan, and to most of the eastern mongoloids.

The re-creating of the Brahmin-led Hindu social system now commenced, but in the north the old Aryan people had been torn and riven by Tartar and Scythian invasion and colonization, a people who had adopted the Buddhism of the country they dominated. When the restoration of the old system was undertaken, of which, however, very little save by inference and deduction is known, it would seem that the Brahmins would admit any chieftain and his men, as being of the old Kshattria warrior origin, if they were prepared to adopt the whole Brahminical system and vow themselves as supporters of the holy estate of all of the Brahmin clans. By this means the Rajputs arose, who

while having all of the Kshattrian origin as was still in the land, may have had a good deal of Scythian and even Tartar blood in their veins. However that may be, the whole of India had returned somewhere about A.D. 500 to the Brahmin obedience, and all the warrior classes, chiefs and clansmen, many themselves yeomen and small landowners, men who rendered service for land, were admitted to be 'Rajput' as the new blend was termed. Speaking generally, the system was by clan and tribe, and the whole of the land was in the hands of this renewed blending. It grew more forcible and concrete as the centuries rolled on. Great Rajput Kingdoms prevailed, often at war, unfortunately for themselves one with another. But the motto of the old rule was restored: "A place for every man and every man in his place."

When the new Moslem faith had surged through Arabia and many parts of Asia, it came to the lower Indus in the eighth century, but did not penetrate India farther, its energies being absorbed in lapping round the mountains and flowing into the mountain valleys that lay between the Indus and the Oxus. It was not till the days of the Norman Conquest that the green banners poured down, as explained in Chapter I, into India, to destroy gradually the Rajput armies who did not learn to combine till too late.

Now this Rajput veneer was all over the land of Northern India from the coast of Gujarat and Kathiawar to the Himalayas. Along the Five Rivers, down the Jumna and the Ganges, and up into the hills between Kashmir and Punjab and in the Simla Hills and down to Tehri Garhwal, ran the domination.

When the chiefs decided to leave Hindustan and the Northern Rajput plains before Islam, as already described, and trek for the arid mountains in Central India where the invaders could not follow them or find it worth while, they left many pockets and groups behind them. In the

¹ i.e., 'Sons of Princes.'

Himalayan slopes on the Indian side of the snow wall, and in the foothills, where the wave of Islam did not reach there they remained. In the Punjab many of the clans turned to Islam *en masse* and there remained. To this day these Moslems know themselves by their old clan name similar to those of the Hindu Rajputs, and the general name of 'Rajput' rather than as 'Moslem'. In the plains of Rajput Hindustan, however, many cultivators and small landlords remained and accepted Moslem domination. Those clans within hail of Delhi and whose clan discipline and clan cement remained, went.

This explains the many Rajputs in the Hindustan plains, and many Brahmins who cultivate and exercise no priestly functions. The Company's Bengal Army was largely recruited from this class, and the martial Brahmin. The latter, indeed, until after the World War, furnished two battalions. Their religious customs, rather than their lack of military qualities, made them quite unfitted for modern war.

Thus the Rajputs of Rajasthan, the land of Princes, more usually in modern days called Rajputana, while representing the cream of the old race and all its ways and its chivalry, are by no means all of the blood. The Chiefs of the Himalayas are much as the Chiefs of Rajputana. But the isolated Rajputs of Hindustan are rather as MacDonalds and Campbells long settled out of the Scottish Highlands.

It is curious fact that far the most martial of them all are the Moslem Rajputs of the Punjab, who feed largely on whole meal and enjoy a cold winter. They form the backbone of the Indian Army of modern times, and of the new Indian Navy.

The foregoing in brief is the whole Rajput story of India, and we may now turn more particularly to the Rajput Princes of Central India and their story since the 'trek' with a sense of their relation to India. The classic in the

English language of their history is Tod's '*Rajasthan*.' Colonel Todd was a political officer in Rajputana, for many years and wrote this famous epic, full of such stories of chivalry, drama and sacrifice as the world has rarely heard of.

THE RAJPUT STATES TO THE FALL OF THE MOGULS

In due course after leaving Hindustan, the Rajput chiefs and clans founded by quarrel and agreement settlements, for the most on the north-west and south-east of the Aravalli Mountains and their barren spurs. To the north-west of the chain the Ridge at Delhi is the last thin trail of rock as the range fades into the level on the banks of the Jumna.¹

North-west of the hills are the deserts that stretch to the Sutlej, in the oases of which the clans planted their centres, Bikanir Jodhpore, Jaisalmer, to the south-east Alwar, Jaipur, Kotah, Bundi, Udaipur, Tank, etc. The area of Rajputana is 128,000 square miles, its population in the twentieth century eleven millions. These kingdoms were founded by 'jumping' the hegemony over various inhabitants of other races, and the modern figures hint at what must have occurred. The following remarkable figures show the dominance of the Rajput chiefs and clansmen. Out of the eleven millions the Rajputs themselves number but something under 700,000, while there are 800,000 Brahmins. The mass of the other peoples are Jāts, Ahirs, Gujars, and various aboriginal and Dravidian tribes. It may here be said that the Jāts, some of the sturdiest people of Hindustan, are said to be of Scythian origin, that rather obscure word for a people from Central Asia who came into India long after the original Aryans,

¹ The ancient recurring sites of Delhi owe their selection and their permanency to the fact that it is the nearest way to cross the Jumna coming from the north, without crossing the waterless hills, just as London grew up beside the first ford in the Thames estuary.

but from their physiognomy seem to differ from them little enough. A Rajput of Hindustan, say, is like as two peas to a Jāt. Rajput origin is not accorded them, which points to the fact that they probably entered India after the reconstruction. Yet it has been hinted to them in recent years from Brahmin sources especially to those Jāts in or adjacent to British India, that, if they abandoned their traditional loyalty to the British, and their love of service in the British Army, perhaps the question of Rajput Status might be reconsidered—a specious and plausible temptation.

When the Rajput Princes had quarrelled themselves happily into their own areas and begun to settle down as definite little kingdoms, they found that the Moslem waves sweeping and lapping the foot of their mountains took more than ordinary damming, and they had not secured the peace of isolation that they had sought for many centuries. Gradually the Turkish, Arab, and Afghan invaders conquered India on all sides of them, and when the Tuglaq dynasty of Delhi came to an end, the independent Moslem states, especially those of Gujarat, where the independent kings were eventually constrained by the growing Mogul power and the Rajputs saved, pressed cruelly on them.

The hereditary hatred of the Rajputs for the Moslem conquerors took long to settle down. Akbar while bringing them into acquiescence, endeavouring to make them vassals rather than crush them, developed a steady policy of friendliness, using them as pillars of the state. He gave some of their leaders command over the Imperial troops fighting on the Afghan borders, as indeed they had fought before the coming of Islam. During the Frontier wars of 1897 Sir Pertab Singh of Jodhpur, whose character and doings will be referred to, was most anxious that the Afridi Tirah should be given to him and his Rajputs to settle. Again, in 1842, the Government of India offered the Rajput Chief Gulab Singh of Jammu who later became

Maharajah of Kashmir, the Khaiber, and Jellalabad as a Kingdom. And here it might be said that it is quite possible that the Afridis are themselves of Rajput or Jāt¹ origin.

The successors to Akbar were unfortunately not always so tolerant, though for several generations Rajput chiefs had high office at Agra and Delhi. Akbar indeed and his successors married ladies of the Rajput houses, a statesman-like act enough, save that many of the blue-blooded chiefs resented the unions as a disgrace. To this day the ruling family of the premier Rajput State of Udaipur, pride themselves that never had they suffered the humiliation of sending a princess to the Imperial bed, be the position never so honourable. And therein lies all the story of the innate incompatibility between the Hindu and Moslem memories, that are now stirring again so bitterly.

To illustrate some of the dramas and tragedies which have beset the Rajput people and those who followed their fortunes, a few of the more famous stories are given. The *Sacas* of Chitoor in Udaipur, the occasions on which they have been driven to immolate their women and die themselves, sword in hand, are of outstanding note in the world's tally of heroism and horrors. When it was all over, the Rajputs seemed to have endured with no great unheavals, until Aurungzebe, the last of the effective Mogul Emperors, began his Hindu persecution. He thus deprived himself of the support of the integral spirit of India, and after him began the fall. How the Rajputs then suffered at Mahratta hands and coming of the life-buoy of the British Raj will be told after the sagas just referred to.

THE SACAS OF CHITOOR

Among the many fascinating and pathetic stories of heroism and despair that are associated with the struggles

¹ The same race is known as Jāt in the Punjab.

of the Rajputs of Rajasthan with the conquerors from the north, there are none that surpass the annals of Chitoor, the ancient fortress capital of Udaipur, and the story of the *Sacas* and *Johurs*. *Saca* is the name for destruction of a fortress and garrison. *Johur* is the term for the immolation of the females of a beleaguered place, an immolation to save them from gracing the harems and even the lepanoirs of the conquerors, that inevitable fate of women in the warring east.

Chitoor was the ancient capital of Mewar, long changed to Udaipur, which stands on the great grey cliffs, close to the railway line to Bombay, a derelict and a warning. For many centuries its grey limestone walls and bastions formed the fortress capital of the Ranas of Mewar. For eight hundred years it held its proud position, but in the latter centuries it endured three terrible captures and sacks, and the last at the hands of Akbar the greatest of the great Moguls, since which it has lain derelict till modern times, like some giant ship's hull thrown high on the rocks.

Long before Chitoor ever fell to Turkish foe it stood up to the early Arab invaders from Sind, and some of the first incursions of Mahmud of Ghuzni, a bulwark, and a strong place. Unfortunately the Rajputs must quarrel as bitterly among themselves as they resisted the invader, and sad to relate, clan jealousy at times made one lot accept aid from the common enemy.

Twice was Chitoor attacked by Alla-ud-din-Khilji, Emperor of Delhi, and this was due to two causes, Rajput raids and a skirt. Bhimsi, uncle of the then young Rana, had married the daughter of the Chief of Ceylon who had the soubriquet only given to the most beautiful women, viz., "Pudmini." Alla-ud-din, investing Chitoor, demanded the rendition of Pudmini to his arms, as the terms of raising the siege. The refusal and fierce resistance induced him to mitigate his demands to a sight of the veiled and extraordinary beauty. Finally he was offered

the sight reflected through mirrors and to this he assented. Trusting, as he knew he could, to the faith of a Rajput, he entered the fastness unguarded and duly enjoyed the sight of beauty in the mirrors. The Rajput Chief then accompanied the Tartar Emperor to the outer gates. Here, however, the faithless Tartar had prepared an ambush. Bhimsi was carried off, and his return was offered in exchange for Pudmini. It was now diamond cut diamond. The Rajputs represented that Pudmini should come properly escorted to be a Royal spouse. With her would be maids of honour, and many another lady would accompany her to bid her farewell. Strict were the precautions against curiosity violating the cortège of beauty. Seven hundred crimson curtained litters left the fort, and proceeded to the besiegers' camp. In each was one of the defenders of Chitoor with six armed soldiers disguised as litter bearers. The cortège was received in an enclosure of tent walls. Half an hour was allowed for the farewells between the Hindu Prince and his bride. Here again the Tartar had planned more treachery, Bhimsi was to be bilked and kept a prisoner. But no Pudmini and no maids descended from the litter. Instead the armed men who now sallied forth rescued the captive Bhimsi, but as Alla was too well guarded for their vengeance, they had to content themselves with acting as rearguard to their Chief who escaped on a swift horse. The devoted guard, history relates, were destroyed to a man. Alla-ud-din now attempted an assault, but was repulsed with heavy loss, and raised the siege awhile. Then he returned, better equipped, to recommence the siege anew. This time escape was impossible, sortie after sortie failed, and it only remained to die. No mercy was to be expected from the Tartars. Then was prepared the terrible rite of *Johur*, the giant burning, by which alone could the queens and all the women escape the Tartar lust. Beneath the fortress lay great caverns and in these vast fires had been prepared. The funeral pyre was lighted in the under-

ground chambers and into this in procession walked the queens and all their wives and daughters who could by any counting be in danger. The beautiful Pudmini brought up the tail of the procession, and the doors were closed. The Rana's twelve-year son and a small party escaped through the enemy, that the line might endure. The Rana and the whole of the surviving chivalry now opened the gates and charged forth to sell their lives as dearly as they could. When the Tartars entered over their bodies, there was little of flesh and blood for them to exult over. Thus fell for the first time in 1303,¹ the great Rajput stronghold.

But Chitoor was not alone in misfortune for the Kings of Delhi brought disaster on most of the Rajput principalities.

THE SECOND SACA (1533)

In 1526 the Emperor Baber defeated the Rajputs at Kanua and that was enough. He was not going to run his head against Chitoor.

But there were other enemies of the Rajputs who would continue the struggle. Rajah or Rana Sanga was a forcible personality and had lived on war. He had lost an eye in a brawl with a brother, and an arm in action with the King of Delhi, and had long been a cripple, his leg having been broken by a cannon ball. Eighty wound scars from sword and lance he also bore on his body. He had not carried his life so successfully without making many enemies. Among other feats he had captured the Moslem King of Malwa, Muzuffar, in his own stronghold; he had also captured the famous fortress of Rinthunbur from Ali the Imperial general, and Islam was hot on his tracks, and those of the Rajputs generally. Bikramajit, a son of the Rana, was now on the throne, his war-worn father having been gathered with his fathers of the Sun, and Bahadur, King of Gujerat, took advantage of the weakening quarrels of the Rajputs then in

¹ This is Ferishta's date, other authority says 1275.

progress to march on Chitoor. Bitter had been the Rajput dissensions. In the saying of the countryside *Poppa Bhai ki Raj*¹ had supervened, Poppa being a princess of fable whose rule was proverbial for mismanagement. Bikramajit brave enough, if incompetent, hastened to meet Bahadur, and was severely defeated for his pains. In sacred Chitoor was an infant son of Sanga, and there, burying the hatchet of dissension, the Rajputs hurried to defend the capital that was sacred above all things. Sacrificing everything, the most famous Rajput chiefs rallied to its defence.

The Moslems sat down before the fortress with a fine park of artillery, and with them it was said some European, probably Portuguese, gunners. A vast mine was sprung which brought down forty-five cubits of the rampart. Bravely did walls of flesh and blood hasten to fill the gap in the stone. The Queen Mother of the Rhatores, the noble Jowajir Bhai, herself led forth a sortie, clothed in mail, and was slain at the head of her clan. Still the besiegers gained ground. Then the infant child of Sanga was smuggled out, as was the heir in the last siege, to preserve the race, and since Chitoor could only be defended by royalty, Baghi, prince of Deoli, was crowned a temporary king. The great banner of Mewar flew out over his head, but in vain, for the fate of Chitoor was again sealed, as it had been two centuries before. Once more was the terrible *Johur* prepared. There was hardly time to get ready the pyre, so fast had the defenders fallen in the great breach that saltpetre had effected. But combustibles were heaped in the underground caverns and among the powder magazines, and the princess Kurnavaiti, mother of the prince, headed the martyr's procession, as thirteen thousand women in the flower of their youth and beauty marched calm, triumphant and even exulting to the doom that was to defraud and disappoint the conquerors of their victims. Then were the great gates flung wide open as in ancient times, and the

¹ The rule of Lady Poppa.

prince of Deoli charged forth at the head of the survivors, blind with fury and despair.

Not a man survived, and the triumphant Moslem conqueror looked on a terrible scene of desolation. Every clan had lost its chief, and 32,000 Rajputs are said to have lost their lives. This was the second Saca of Chitoor in the year of Our Lord 1535 and of '*Sambat*' the Hindu Calendar, 1591. The deed done and tragedies concerning it which the bards sing to this day, were legion.

THE THIRD SACA (1568)

While the Rajputs continued their struggles and intrigues, the throne of Baber passed to his son Humayun, who after ten years of mismanagement and ill fortune had lost all that his father had gained, and finally, at the hands of the Afghan Sher Shah, was driven forth a fugitive. More than once had he, in incipient wisdom, sought to help the Rajputs and lay the seed of reconciliation that afterwards his son Akbar was to ripen. During the period that Sher Shah held down the throne of Delhi, after the final defeat of Humayun, the Rajputs had been rigorously restrained within their own hills and some of their strongholds taken with concomitant massacre. In 1555 the tide turned, and Humayun came back triumphant, only to be killed by a fall from his horse the next year. His son Akbar succeeded to him at the age of fourteen and his armies defeated the Afghans on the field of Panipat. When he was eighteen Akbar took the reins from his minister Bairam, and started on the great career that was to bring his dynasty to a place among the world's greatest kingdoms. In 1566 all the Moslems had acknowledged him, and he was anxious to arrive at some better relations with the Rajputs. After a brief struggle most of the chiefs entered into alliance, Oody Singh alone, foolish and proud, defied the mighty Emperor, on which the Mogul sat down before Chitoor

for the third and last siege, from which, however, the chief himself was absent.

Ferishta, the Moslem historian, records not, but local history states, that once was Akbar repulsed and compelled to abandon the siege by the determined defence which the Rana's concubine queen put up. But whatever truth of that, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the seventh of his having assumed control, a vast army and siege train appeared before the grey cliffs and battlements that had seen it all so many times before. The site of the Royal *Ordu*¹ is shown to this day and the attacking trenches also remain. Once again the chiefs assembled to combat for their ancient capital, though the Rana was not with them. Names are they still to conjure with in Rajasthan, but first and foremost among the heroes were Jai Mall of Bednor and Putta of Kailwa, both among the sixteen superior vassals of Mewar. The siege followed the usual course. Fierce were the stormings of the Tartars and Afghans, fiercer still the thrust and sortie of the defenders. Within was all that the clan valued, all except their sovereign, queens, princesses, and all the lesser women of rank and all the clansmen's families. Many a slip of a Rajput lass slung the buckler over the scarf and died in the breach. Salumbra fell at the gate of the Sun, and the sixteen-year-old Putta of Kailwa took his place. His mother cast over him the saffron robe of the martyr, and then, that he should have no regard for the gentler side of his life, armed herself and gave his bride a lance, and descended the rock towards the foe. All Chitoor saw them fall and vowed a vow. The tragic *Johur* for the third time in history was prepared, and the garrison to the number of eight thousand donned the saffron robe; the *pan* of sacrifice—the *bhira*—was distributed, the women marched to the pyre and the gates of sortie and immolation were thrown open. Of what avail such valour against the countless hosts of the Mogul!

¹ Camp.

All the heads of clans and all the allied chiefs fell, and seventeen hundred of the immediate kin of the prince. With them nine queens, five of their daughters and two infant sons perished, and Akbar, like Alla-ud-din, or Bahadur, his predecessors in this barren victory, gazed from the head of the main gate on the slaughter and desolation he had brought about. But to him, already planning an 'India', it was a shock and not a rejoicing. The greatness of the victory was gauged according to custom from the collars taken from chiefs of distinction, of such four and seventy and a half *māns* were garnered. A *mān* is eight pounds.

Ever since, seventy-four and a half is an abhorred number in Rajputana, and is held *tilac* (accursed).

Oody Singh, the renegade, founded a new settlement at what is now the capital of Udaipur, and died at forty-four in great disrepute, but leaving behind a vast progeny. Chitoor has to modern times stood as a ruin, a haunt for the wild beast and the bittern, even its shrines and temples foresworn, and below unheeding, clatter the railway trains of the West.

SOME RAJPUT SAGAS

i. *The Bridal Cortège of Koramdevi.*

The life story of Rajasthan, as has been said, lives in the memory of its people, as do those of other Celtic races, and in the songs and stories of the bards. From mouth to mouth through the ages, like the Puranas, the Upanishads, and all the literature of the ancient world recorded long before the art of writing, come the stories that have been handed down by memory, often more accurately than careless or glossful copyists may write. Thus Rama and Krishna, long before they became gods and incarnations, were Kshattriya adventurers, leaders and heroes, the latter being in modern light parlance a 'bit of a lad', with a gift

of the comehither for every strapping dairymaid. Popular heroes in all times are recognized, and very properly so, as having at least some particle of the deity in their make-up, men into whom the Kings of Orion have entered.

But we need not now go back to the hero-myth, but to those stout stories of medieval chivalry, in Rajasthan, of which the folk still love to hear. We shall be told of many more *Sacas*, when Rajput queens and curtain wives went to the *Johur* before less unholy foes than the host of the Turk. In the eternal civil war between cousin kings, the wives were prouder and often fiercer still, and scorned the bed of the conqueror, even when of their own blood.

The tales of the queens, however, is always a tale of faithful love and constancy, and is typical of the spirit of Hindu women, and their proud and patient outlook on life. Here is the story of the bride of Sadoo, son of Raningdeo, Bhatti, lord of Poogal, a fief of Jeysulmere, as related by Tod. Sadoo was a prince of raiders, the terror of the desert, harrying even to the Indus. It so happened that returning from a foray in typical Rajput style, and who said 'Scottish border'?, with captured horses and camels and sumpter mules, he passed through the Dukedom of Manik Rao, the chief of the Rajput clan of the Mohils, whose rule extended, it is said, over close on 1450 villages.

After the Rajputs' open way, Manik Rao bade the young baron tarry a while and sup. While so doing he attracted the attention of the old chief's daughter, Koramdevi, who, masterful hot-blooded lass that she was, although betrothed to Irrinkowal the heir of the great Rahtore prince of Mundore, announced that she would renounce the prospect of a throne and marry the heir of Poogal.

The Mohil chief could not advise Sadoo to make a mortal enemy of the Rahtore bridegroom-elect by marrying the forward daughter, but how could Sadoo, a Rajput of spirit decline so commanding a favour, and the hand of so beautiful and highborn a lady. He promised to accept the

coconut, the symbol of betrothal, if sent to Poogal in Rajput form. In due time it came, the Rahtores were defied and Sadoo espoused his bride with great ceremony at Aureent, the bride's home. Handsome was the dower of the Mohil princess, gems of high price, vessels of gold and silver, a golden bull and thirteen *dewadharis*, damsels 'of wisdom and penetration' to wait on their lady and share such trifles of her husband's affection as she could spare.

The slighted heir of Mundore was not however prepared to take the insult, the brazen flouting, placidly. With 4000 of his Rahtore warriors Irrinkowal planted himself across the return path of the bridal cortège. Sadoo's father-in-law had offered him 4000 Mohils as escort, but the laughing bridegroom, confident in his own 700 stout Bhatti clansmen, could not be persuaded to take more than fifty under his new brother-in-law, Megraj.

Sadoo and his bride halted to rest at Chondon, and there the Rahtores found him. The Rahtores brave and chivalrous, however ruthless, scorned to fall on so small a force with all their numbers, and a series of single combats ensued. Single combats passed to the engaging of larger bodies, and at length Sadoo mounted his horse, his bride watching from her chariot. As the struggle waged half of Sadoo's men had fallen, and six hundred of the Rahtore. Sadoo then bade his lass a last adieu, and she vowed that she would witness his deeds, and if he fell follow him in death. Irrinkowal, 'the Lotus of the Desert', waited his successful rival in love, and at length they met to shower blow on helmet and shield as they circled on their high bitted steeds. At last both fell to the ground, Sadoo dead, his rival only in swoon.

With the fall of the rivals and leaders the battle ceased, and the cause of it all, the fair Koramdevi, virgin wife and widow all in one, prepared to follow her bridegroom, a grim and ruthless following, as grim as had been the strike.

As the funeral pyre was ready Koramdevi called for a sword, and then the story runs, struck off one arm " 'For my father ' saying ' such was his daughter, ' " commanding the other to be struck off and given with the marriage jewels to the bard of the Mohils. Thus maimed she mounted the pyre, embraced her bridegroom with the poor stumps, and bade them apply the torch. To this day they show the Tank of Koramdevi, built in her honour.

That is the story, and from the accounts of the *sacas* and *suttees*, there is no reason to doubt it, so fierce and proud were these mistaken heroes and their women with a ferocity, courage, and pride so tense, that could they have avoided quarrelling among themselves, not all the Turks in Asia should have crossed the Indus twice. It is to the eternal disgrace of the Brahminical framework with its national claim that it has ever failed to save, but has always sufficed to break the country of its pretensions.

ii. *The Answer of Queen Sunjota.*

Once upon a time before the Rajputs were driven from Delhi, of which they were then the Emperors and premier kings in Ind, the Chouhan Emperor carried off willy-nilly, the Princess of Kanauj, Sunjota by name. She had rejected the assembled princes at her father's court, and thrown the garland of marriage round the neck of her hero, and in his arms it is related, abandoned herself to the wildest passion. Then she is to be seen taking part in a five days' combat between her father's and husband's forces, witnessing the overthrow of the former and the carnage of both armies, but then in her arms lulls her victorious husband to the neglect of all his kingly duties.

When however the Moslem came down from Ghuzni we are shown her driving him to the battle and inspiring him to fight till death, promising to join him in the mansions of the sun.

Sunjota must have been a remarkable woman, for the

bards record her reply when the king left his warriors to consult with her as to the opposing of Mahmud of Ghuzni.

“Who asks woman for advice? The world deems their understanding shallow; even when truths issue from their lips, none listen thereto. Yet what is the world without woman. We have the forms of Sakhti with the fire of Siva; we are at once thieves and sanctuaries; we are the vessels of virtue and of vice—of knowledge and of ignorance. The man of wisdom, the astrologer, can from the books calculate the motion and course of the planets; but in the book of woman he is ignorant; this is not a saying of to-day, it has ever been so; our book has not been mastered, therefore to hide their ignorance, they say in woman there is no wisdom! Yet woman shares your joys and your sorrows. Even when you depart for the mansions of the sun, we part not. Hunger and thirst we cheerfully partake with you; we are as the lakes of which you are the swans, what are you when absent from our bosoms.”

Which whether spoken as it was close on a thousand years ago, whether spoken to-day, or when Babylon was at her zenith, is a very remarkable and effective swansong. Alas! For swan-song it proved to be. Her Emperor was defeated, captured and put to death by Mahmud, and she, faithful to her vows mounted the funeral pyre.

RESCUED BY THE BRITISH FROM THE MAHRATTAS

After the scrambled peace that succeeded the Marquis Wellesley's victories, the Rajput States were to some extent rescued, and the condition of those Rajput chieftains of whom there were several who were within the jurisdiction of Sindhia, referred to as Mediatized States as explained elsewhere, much improved. The States of Rajputana however were still very severely treated especially by Holkar, who had not yet had his final trial of strength with the British. When the last upheaval came in 1817, as

described in the next chapter, and Holkar's armies were defeated, Mulhar Rao II being long dead, the Rajput States all entered into an effectual protective alliance with the British and fear was over. The Mahratta had far more troops and far more means than the Rajputs, and the States would have been more and more bled and blockaded had not the British then become not only paramount, but insistent on an end to all oppression under arms. From that day to this the Rajput States have remained secure in their territories gradually, under advice, growing more prosperous and more wealthy.

The Princes have become the pattern of Hindu chivalry and loyalty to the British Crown, and have steadily come forward in the advance which has characterized the last half century in India.

But the Princes of Rajputana, while constituting the centre and the matrix of Rajputism, are by no means the only Rajput Princes. All over Central India are there Rajput rulers with a settlement of Rajput followers and barons, and indeed it may be said that except for the two Jāt states of Bhurtpur and Dolpur and the Mahratta states, all Hindu thrones are in Rajput hands.

CHAPTER VI

THE WEAVING OF THE PATTERN

The Pindaris and Nepal, 1805-1816. The Fourth Mahratta-cum-Pindari War, 1817-1819. Origin of the 'Mediatized States.' The Weaving of the Pattern and the British Peace. The Storming of Bhurtpore, 1826. The Afghan King-Making, 1839-1841. The Kabul Debacle, 1842. The Annexation of Sind, 1843.

THE PINDARIS AND NEPAL, 1805-1816

THE hopeless reversion of policy which the ignorance, and timidity of the Company and the Board of Control now induced, was to bring its nemesis.¹ The Marquess Wellesley—the Great Little Marquess—had taken the first step to end disorder and rapine, since the death of Aurungzebe, in India. But predatory Mahratta chiefs were not likely to remain long in their own dominions with no big stick of Mogul or Viceroy to keep them there. This the British soon found. The rare and refreshing fruit not only of *chouth*, but of having the world and its women at their disposal, wherever their horse could reach and their park of artillery sustain, was too fresh in their memories to be abandoned at the mere behest of a scrap of paper.

But there was another and terrible evil to be envisaged also, the righting of which was crying to be undertaken. On the great Nerbudda, the river of Central India, deep set in forests and running through hills girt with robber forts and fastnesses, the lawless masterless bands, drawn largely from discharged and broken soldiery, had formed vast predatory associations and even colonies. There, with women and families, their own and those they annexed, they lived inaccessible, sallying forth whenever the season was suitable to hold the many lands within their reach to the most ruthless ransom. It was clear to all who knew the real India that nothing could be safe till these places were rooted out and the gangs put to a decent life. It was the

¹ It is true that the Company's normal resources were exhausted, but the occasional called for Imperial assistance.

direct consequence of the break-up of a great Empire, and we see it before our eyes to-day in many parts of China to this day. There was not even a government other than the British trying, as Nankin and Canton ineffectively try to-day, to put an end to it. The princes of Central India made use of it. The bandit chiefs made it worth their while.

There was one more, and in some ways, a greater horror calling for repression, the 'noose that walked in the night' ! The British themselves had only just got ken of the ramifications of Thuggism, and its far-reaching murder-cum-robbery cult, and the people of India, outside those who drew profit therefrom, sensed it but instinctively. The people who could put down both the Pindaris, as the land-pirates were called, and the Thugs, were to earn the gratitude of the whole civilized world, and to earn it so long as memory endured.

The great Mahratta chiefs irked at the restraint and the growing of law and order that was emanating from British India, they groaned at the subsidiary forces, which, if they gave them protection, also checked rapine and expansion. In alliance with the Pindaris, several of them were preparing for one more contest, one more struggle against the British Peace, with the Mogul seat and seal possibly as an eventual reward. Who can blame those wild spirits bred of the years of war that had existed so long ! As well expect the brigands of China to settle down because a westernized Canton miss bids them do so. Lord Wellesley had aimed at each being a prince in his own lands, governing and developing his own principality. The coming of Lord Cornwallis and his successor, Sir George Barlow gave them renewed hope of license and frontiers that moved at will. The call of the autumn excitement, known as 'mulk-geri', or 'land-seizing,' the removal of your neighbour's landmark, was too strong to be easily curbed. Those who could forget Panipat could forget Assaye and Laswari.

The reviving rôle of the Mahrattas had indeed descended

on the Pindaris. In 1808 two former officers of Sindia's, named Hurrin and Buran, now bandit leaders were employed by the Bonsla to ravage the lands of his Afghan neighbour, the Nawab of Bhopal. The mischief they created was incredible. The Mahrattas later imprisoned Buran and confiscated his hordes with typical Mahratta greed. Hurrin escaped and died, and Buran's band fell to a protégé of Sindia's, one Chetoo, with Kureem Khan, an Afghan, and Hurrin's two sons. These the most daring of the leaders and their followers now, from 1807 to 1812, ravaged Central India, Behar, Rajputana and the Nizam's dominions, till their crimes called to high heaven for vengeance, and all the while the British looked on, and England failed to understand. The whole of Lord Minto's otherwise wise governor-generalship, was tainted thus, and he was powerless. Then Hurrin's sons invaded Bundelkand, which was the Company's own land, and they were touched to the quick. They sent out the well-known soldier Francis Rawdon, then Lord Moira, but later the Marquis Hastings in 1813, to settle this Pindari hash.

In the meantime, another even more urgent matter had arisen in acute form. Nepal had taken advantage of the trouble to invade the low-lying country between Nepal and Oudh. For many hundreds of miles they had occupied Indian territory and were ruling Kumaon and Garwhal with intense ferocity, worthy of the Pindaris. To this day any high-handed action is greeted in Kumaon with "*Oho ! Gurkha Raj phir agya.*" ("Oh ! Gurkha rule again.") They had spread to the hills that are now Simla, and even up to the edges of the Punjab. Their mercenaries were appearing in the forces of all the northern states. This had to be tackled, and the years 1814, through the days of Waterloo, right up to 1816 were spent in the Gurkha settlement. There was fierce fighting and several untoward incidents, due to aged and ineffective commanders, until Lony Ochter Sahib took command. The Nepalese, who

had been talking wildly of the 'Cowards of Bhurtpore,' soon changed their note. They were heartily beaten by Ochterlony in a series of admirable operations, which brought him up into their own hills within fifty miles of their capital. They then accepted a peace which restored all the territory they had pirated. Their captured soldiery at once joined British units to form the beginning of that Gurkha line within the British Indian Army, whose services have gone on from fame to fame. The treaty, which has never been broken, was the beginning of that Nepal in the excellence of its relations with the British, which endures so happily to this day. The status and modern prosperity of this neighbour of ours will need some further reference later.

THE FOURTH MAHRATTA-CUM-PINDARI WAR, 1817-1819

We have come by way of Nepal to the final weaving of the modern fabric of India. Lord Moira now had time to turn his attention to the Pindaris. He had come to India primed with opposition to the Wellesley policy, only to find that it was unavoidable in this turmoil-stricken continent.

He found that the Mahrattas, Sindhia, the Peshwa, Holkar and the Bonsla were planning another combination to destroy British power and influence, and had gone into alliance with the Pindaris. It promised to be a larger business than even Lord Wellesley's last campaigns, and he had set about re-raising the army that the Barlow regime had so reduced.

The ways of diplomacy were duly followed. The Mahratta chiefs were called to assist the British in the exterminating of the Pindaris. The Peshwa appeared by his professions to be especially eager to fall in with the Governor-General's plans. He alone of the fraternity, was not a Mahratta, but a Deccani Brahmin. All the while he was adding to his own forces, chiefly by entertaining hosts of foreigners, Arabs, Mewatis, and Rohillas, who were

roaming India looking for military service, and had established secret agencies at the other Mahratta courts. At Poona a large number of the wilder levies appeared to be assembling, to which the British Resident drew attention. Troubles between the Gaikwar, who was especially protected, and the Peshwa, resulted in the dastardly murder in the streets of Poona of the Gaikwar's agent. So unsatisfactory and hostile had been the Peshwa's acts that he was put to the duress of a sharper treaty. While this was in progress large bodies of Pindaris poured into British and allied territories. Chetoo brought 20,000 into the Northern Circars, and 8000 into the Deccan. In 1815, in British India 339 villages were destroyed, 182 persons killed, 5000 wounded, 3600 tortured to deliver up their wealth, and fifty lakhs of rupees were carried off. Men and women were tortured alike with the most devilish ingenuity. The Rajah of Berar, the Bonsla, took little enough action to prevent them passing his territory. It was not however till 1817 that Lord Moira's arrangements were mature. Sindhia was informed that the policy of non-interference was over, and that the British forces were about to converge on the Pindari nuisances, and that the Governor-General was about to contract fresh alliances with all who desired connection with the British Government, and its protection.

He accompanied this by a direct advance on Sindhia's capital. Every Mahratta and Pindari centre was the mark for the advancing British columns.

Amir Khan of Tank, partly freebooter prince, partly Pindari leader, who had 52 regular battalions, 150 guns and a large body of Pathan Cavalry whom he could not control, was worth detaching. To him was offered a confirmation of the lands given him by Holkar, and to purchase his artillery. The Afghan accepted. Sindhia had no time to rise, for the British were marching into his capital, as the crisis arose.

The other Mahratta chiefs struck fairly simultaneously.

The Subsidiary Force at Poona had been reinforced by a Bombay European battalion, and was in camp at Kirkee, when thousands of Mahratta troops poured out to attack the Residency. The whole was very handsomely defeated in one of the most decisive battles of India, that of 'Kirkee', and the Peshwa fled on that great day of happenings, the 5th of November, 1817. British reinforcements arrived and another action was fought with the Mahratta forces, which then disappeared. At Nagpur the Bonsla's forces set on the small Subsidiary Force which defended itself gallantly on Seetabuldee Hill behind the Residency (November 26th). Reinforcements arriving, the whole of the Nagpur forces were scattered on the 27th of November, Appa Sahib, the regent for the now reigning Bonsla (an imbecile) surrendered before the last fight, but his troops preferred the arbitrament of battle.

Jeswunt Rao Holkar, he of the saga of the Third Mahratta War died in 1811, and his mistress Tulsi Bhai, a young and beautiful woman, placed Mulhar Rao, an illegitimate son of her husband's on the *Gaddi*. Her government was profligate and ineffective, her troops mutinous and uncontrollable, and she and her ministers after many vicissitudes fell under the Peshwa's influence. She herself aimed ere long at escaping with the boy to the British at Delhi, but before she could do this, the outbreak at Poona occurred. Her ministers decided to make common cause with the Peshwa and the Bonsla, and 20,000 men marched for the Deccan. Near Meheidpore they encountered the divisions of Generals Hislop and Malcolm, on the Sipri River, and were handsomely defeated. Before the battle the Rani was taken from her tent and beheaded and her body cast into the river. The infantry fought gallantly, the horse rode off, and 63 guns with all the camp equipage were taken. That was the end of it and a treaty was entered into, by which the British guaranteed the protection of young Mulhar Rao Holkar and his successors.

Prolonged and severe operations now ensued to destroy the Pindari forces, and when the campaign was over, with the reduction of hill forts in the Deccan, Malwa, and Khandesh, by British columns, the arrangements were made which remain to this day. The Peshwa was dispossessed and his territories annexed and in part given to neighbours. It took many months to hunt down Baji Rao, the sound of whose myriad horse can still be heard at night, men say, tramping the plains of the Deccan.

Sindhia had saved his bacon by luck more than probity of purpose. The Gaikwar remained our friend as ever, friendly Bhopal, the Moslem state was strengthened, Holkar, as said, was provided for, the great brigand armies were destroyed. Amir Khan the Rohilla-Pindari chief of Tank now accepted everything, and Tānk remained, as it does in 1936, a state of responsibility. The great anarchy was over, and the Pax Britannica had set in. It was a great settlement, and it and the chiefs concerned remain to this day as the jewels in the commonwealth and crown of India.

The Rajputana chiefs, free from the fear and incursions of Mahrattas and Amir Khan, regained their ancient dignity. The Nizam always staunch, lost nothing thereby, and his own rule had been saved from the Mahrattas. He remains as the one Mogul Viceroy that has survived. The hosts of lesser chiefs at once settled down as the kites that harassed them were caged. North of Delhi the Protected Sikh States were developing under the wise handling of Ochterlony, who long remained Agent to the Governor-General on the then North-West Frontier. The aged Mogul pantaloons enjoyed his pensions and privileges and was treated with an exaggerated consideration which was hardly necessary. Up till 1835 even the coinage of India bore his inscription. The King of Oudh, as the British had made him, was secure. The Marquis Wellesley had confirmed him on a throne that he and his house were quite

incapable of doing their duty by. Away in the south Mysore could give no possible trouble to the hand that had re-created the Hindu Raj, and with a break that will be described later, went on from strength to strength to its great contentment and progress of to-day.

Truly the Marquess Wellesley had conceived better than ever he knew. But the warp and the weft of India to-day cannot be understood until all the forces which have thrown up the princes or restrained them have been presented from the strange past, and thrown in outline on the screen.

THE ORIGIN OF THE MEDIATIZED STATES

Something may be said here of those princes and feudal barons who are known as the 'Mediatized States' as they still endure. The great conquerors such as Sindhia, as they carved slices from the Mogul heritage, brought under their control many other chiefs, mostly Rajput, some actual rulers in their own right, others *thakurs*, i.e. great land-owning barons. In most cases the British Government had no desire to upset the Mahratta chiefs unduly by interfering with the status of such. Sindhia had many such, with most of whom he had always been at loggerheads, caring little, however, what they did, so long as they paid him their tribute and rendered him due military service when called on. The British left Sindhia with his satellites, only specifying that tribute should be duly paid, and that they should not be victimized. The Nizam had several such also, while those in Baroda were mostly brought under British control in return for the payment of their tribute to the Gaikwar by the British Government. Hence so many of the small states described in Chapter XIV in the Western India States Agency, which include 16 important or *Salute* States, and 236 *Non Salute* States and estates, terms which will be explained later on.

It has already been said that several of the Peshwa's subsidiaries were converted into ruling chiefs in direct treaty with the British. It might perhaps be pointed out, that this wise policy of making states thus liberated directly responsible to the Government, had developed as our train of thought and experience improved. In Bengal in earlier days several states tributary to the Nawab disappeared as such, their chiefs being converted into landowners with 'estates' rather than rulers with States when Bengal was annexed. The few thus treated, such as the Maharajah of Burdwan, hold the ruler's title, as a matter of honour.

It may also be said that the criticism often passed on the interference in State affairs in the past by Residents, sometimes forgets how fertile a ground of intrigue and quarrel was the relationship of mediatized chief and overlord, and how often it has been necessary for Resident or Agent to prevent such becoming too serious a sore. In Khandesh, many of the chiefs were Rajput, between whom and the low-caste Mahratta, there was no love lost. Before the Peace, the overlord's troops moved at once on the pleasant mission of *dantghasae*, i.e., 'tooth-grinding', when tribute was in arrears.

These expeditions, in which a Mahratta leader of horse took out his *panch-hazari*, his corps of 5000 horse, are still pleasantly remembered in Mahratta circles. In 1921 the idea got about that the British Government were going out of business as a power in being, and arms *caches* were being looked at, and cannon long kept hidden were being turned over. It was in that year that his late Highness of Gwalior, who was showing the author his manœuvres, remarked gleefully, as an elephant-drawn battery of his heavy guns marched by: "Who knows when those won't come in handy these days—eh, General *Sahib*?"

THE WEAVING OF THE PATTERN AND THE BRITISH PEACE

The pacification of Khandesh after the destruction of the more important Pindari bands proceeded apace. By 1818 the Peshwa's territory was all occupied, and a series of stupendous mountain fortresses unparalleled in India for size, strength and inaccessibility were reduced by British columns with trains of mountain guns. The Peshwa's feudatories, of which the Rajahs of Kolhapore and Akalkote were the most important, were established as ruling chiefs in which position they still remain, the former in the hands of the Sivaji family. The Rajah of Satara, the direct Sivaji scion, long a prisoner with the Peshwa, was established as a small ruling chief, with suitable revenues. These settlements are all well worth remembering since they so amply refute the assumption made in ignorant or malevolent quarters that assumption of territory was the British guiding principle.

The great pattern was thus complete, the Gaikwar, as ruling chief free of all fear, Sindhia and Holkar answering signs and summons and keeping for all time within their own borders, and the lesser chiefs and scions compelled to renounce their autumn custom of *mulkgeri*, 'removing their neighbours' landmarks.' Bhopal the much-harassed Pathan State was now firmly established as a ruling chief, remaining free and prosperous to this day. The Nagpur Rajah, or rather guardian of the imbecile, for his faithless attack on his subsidiary force, had been deposed, and his heir, a minor installed. The villages of the Deccan and Khandesh began to throw down their walls and bastions, for the British Peace had come to stay. Everywhere under political and frontier officers irregular corps and military police were springing up, in which were absorbed and disciplined many disbanded soldiers who would otherwise have turned bandits. They in their turn hunted out the more obdurate of the brigands. Just, too, as in Norman

Britain the strong hand of Henry II had caused the 'adulterine castles', i.e., the castles of those who had no right to them but had built them as reiver's strongholds, to be cast down, so now unwanted castles in India were also dismantled. Gun-founding, the industry of many villages was banished for more peaceful arts.

One result of a century of lawlessness still remained. Countless women took to wearing the *burqa* or great overall hood as a protection, many entering *purdah*, who had not done so formerly. Thousands of masterless horse and free-lance commandos had roamed the lands so thoroughly and carried off any comely lass they met, that all women in Khandesh wore the hood. It was not worth a reiver's while to snatch a hooded form and run off under a shower of matchlock bullets to find later to his comrades' delight, that he had a houri of seventy summers at his saddlebow!

The political residents at the various courts while not interfering, constantly urged ameliorative administration, curbed the quarrels with the lesser feudatories, and did all they could to induce the Peace.

The British Government now had time to turn its attention to an astounding evil, which though long suspected had been growing to terrifying proportions which had only now been fully realized. This was the horror of Thuggism, the secret semi-religious murder organization that strangled the well-to-do for gain, for the glory of the Goddess Bhowani, and perhaps from some communist instinct added to the other two incentives.

Here again the malevolent type of British writer and slighting critic, is apt to cavil at the many years that this evil had been growing uncombated. The answer is very clear and forcible. Not till 1818 had the great tracts of Central India in which Thuggee had its birth and principal venue, come under the Company's control.

So, ere long hardly a dog barked, or a matchlock squibbed other than in the hands of robbers, and this has remained

to present times, with the exception of the reactions during the Mutiny of the Bengal Army, with one rather strange lapse, in 1826, which must now be described.

THE STORMING OF BHURTPORE

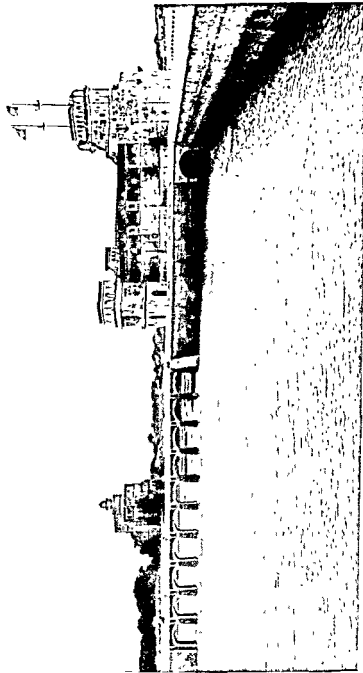
It will be remembered how in 1804, after Lord Lake had trounced Holkar, he set himself to teach reason to the Jāt Rajah of Bhurtpore, who marching awhile with us as an ally, had turned against us after the disaster to Colonel Monson. Four times had Lake with his galloping guns and brave threats attempted to storm the strongest fortress in India, and four times had he been repulsed, losing over 3000 men. Then the Rajah thought that such pertinacious enemies had better be placated. After the congratulatory message to his opponent on his barony as related, terms and treaties were arranged. With the prestige of his victory on him, Bhurtpore joined the British alliance lest worse befall. During the Fourth Mahratta War he had remained staunch; after that war he remained one of the favoured of the greater subsidiary chiefs then, as now. He died, and his son succeeded in amity, and had requested the British Government to recognize his eldest as heir. This was done at a formal ceremony.

The father survived this recognition but a year, and the lad was recognized as the new Rajah. Then a cousin, one Doorjan Sal by a *coup d'état*, set aside the boy, and declared himself the ruler. Now it must be realized that although the Rajah and his successors were in amicable treaty with the Company, yet the Bazaars of India still talked of the repulses that *Lik Sahib* had endured before those impenetrable and lofty walls and bastions of Bhurtpore. More than once had sneering allusions been openly made. This action of Doorjan Sal could not be permitted for a moment. The Agent to the Governor-General in the North-West Provinces was still wise old Lony Ochter *Sahib*, that



Lafayette

H H THE NAWAB OF BAHAWALPUR
The Moslem State in the Southern Punjab



IN 'RANJI'S' JAMNAGAR

An ancient stronghold in F ake Lakota

By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

Ochterlony who had conquered the Gurkhas after the defeats endured by the effete old Company's generals employed in the first phase of that war. No soldier political was more famous than he. No one understood the India of the day better than this man who had spent his life among the frontiers of the expanding Company, solving problems which, unrealized at the Bengal Council at Calcutta, or by the unskilled Governor-General, then Lord Amherst, were his daily portion.

Ochterlony knew that many a discontented chief and dispossessed robber in Malwa was mad to end the British Peace, and was straining at the leash. Doorjan Sal had summoned every out-of-work mercenary and lootless Rohilla in Central India, of whom there were still many to join him.

It was many a hundred miles from Calcutta, in a land unspanned by telegraph (every day lost meant more trouble), and Ochterlony himself ordered 16,000 troops and 100 guns to march against the rebel. To his horror, ignorance and intrigue induced the Governor-General to repudiate the orders and disperse the troops, while actually removing from his office the great servant of the State, who had earned his country's gratitude by his promptness. Lony Ochter *Sahib* retired to Meerut, there to die within the month, of a broken heart. Doorjan Sal, rejoicing, massed his forces. Many marched to fight the Company behind the walls that had defied *Lik Sahib*, "who had conquered Hindustan." Ere long he had 25,000 men, many of them Pathans and Rohillas.

Lord Amherst by now realized how badly his advisers had served him. Had Ochterlony's policy and moves continued Doorjan Sal would have acquiesced. Now his forces and his vanity were such as only bloodshed could end. Once he had realized his error, Amherst emulated the promptness of Lony Ochter. Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, the Stapylton-Cotton of Waterloo,

marched with 20,000 men and 100 guns, not the gallopers of Lake's swift-marching army, but with all the 18-pounder battering guns in Northern India. Even they could not batter down the massive walls, and finally a great mine was driven under the principal bastion in which were built-in the skulls of Lord Lake's soldiers. Ten thousand pounds of gunpowder blew it sky high, with hundreds of Pathans atop. The place was then stormed with the loss of but a thousand, but six thousand of Doorjan Sal's mercenaries gave their lives for their folly, a folly which Ouchterlony would have saved.

The great walls were levelled to the ground, the boy Rajah was replaced on the throne, and with the exception of the *misbehaviour of the Bhurtpore contingent* in the Mutiny, that state has never looked back since. This was in 1826, and the weaving of the pattern now went on in peace.¹

In the weaving of that pattern, so far as the Princes' States were concerned, it is well to remember that we were in no hurry to hasten improvement in administration. The Governor-Generals wanted the Princes to gain confidence in their new relations, and to feel that the hand of friendship was at their disposal. If peace was kept and too heavy a revenue was not exacted, the Government of India was not unnaturally content, and there were some very wise heads at work among the pattern-weavers, men who live in India's memory to this day.

THE AFGHAN KING-MAKING, 1839-1841

As the years rolled on British administration and *restoration developed in the newly acquired provinces*, and comparative prosperity grew out of all knowledge, while in the Princes' States the effects of generations of strife faded away to general satisfaction.

¹ Far too much treasure was claimed and allowed to the army as 'prize,' a claim happily no longer recognized.

The administration of the Company now spread over most of the continent to an extent that even the Marquess Wellesley, let alone his prototype Warren Hastings, could hardly have imagined in their wildest dreams. So quiet was the country that English ladies and children could travel for hundreds of miles attended only by their servants and *palki*¹-bearers.

The Indus lay far off and yet had a lure that no one realized. The great Sikh State that will shortly be described lay between us and Afghanistan, and during the generations since Napoleon's threat, the policy of Lord Minto grew more definite. The statesmen of the early nineteenth century had planned an inner and outer line of buffer states between India and the growing acquisitiveness of the Tsar. Persia and Afghanistan in the outer border of friendship and alliance, Lahore, Bahawalpur and Sind in the inner, friendly, allied, but independent. Adventurous young British officers were now exploring and making friendships in these countries of the inner and outer cordon. But the rulership and state of Kabul had fallen from its high estate. It has already been related how Nadir Shah tore it away from India and made it his own during his lifetime, and how on his death Ahmad Shah, the Abdali who happened to have his treasure, set up 'on his own' as Emperor of a greater Afghanistan, which he called the Durani Empire, and which stretched from the Oxus to the Indus, and at times far east thereof. Till 1820 it even included Kashmir.

It has been recalled how twenty and seven times he invaded India, and destroyed the Mahratta ambitions, with their army, at *Panipat*. His successors Timur Shah and Zaman Shah, though emulating his deeds were not of the same mettle. Ahmad Shah had eventually brought even the Punjab under his rule, but the rising power of the Sikhs at Lahore gradually took the Punjab, Kashmir, and the Indus provinces from his successors. Afghanistan, a land of many

¹ Litter.

turbulences, at last produced stronger men than the Abdali rulers. The country broke up into separate kingdoms, and disorder ruled all along the Indus. South of the state of Lahore lay the ancient Moslem principality of Bahawalpur and between that state and the sea lay the countries formerly in the Mogul Empire, seized by Nadir and the Duranis and now enjoying some sort of nebulous independence under raiding chiefs known as the Amirs of Sind. A country that was largely Hindu, it had come under the control of a family of Persian fanatics, the Kalloras, after the decline of the Mogul power, but in 1778 had fallen to the Baluch clan of Talpoors, who ruled and skinned the people ruthlessly, supported by the wild untamed Baluch tribesmen from the hills of Baluchistan.

Such recent allegiance as they owed was to the now-dying Durani Empire. But the age of steam had arrived, the Indus to a great extent did for the Punjab what the Ganges did for Hindustan. Steam had come to the Ganges, and it was eminently desirable that it should come to the Indus also. The British being traders need peace that trade should develop. The Talpoor chiefs, otherwise known as the Amirs of Sind, had little use for altruism or even for foresight. Such trade as went up the Indus was strangled by ferocious dues. At Lahore, Runjhith Singh looked askance at such doings, and also was of opinion that his rule should extend to the uniting rivers of the Punjab (which means five rivers) until they joined the Western Sea. Indeed in the thirties only British influence restrained him from attacking the Amirs.

In 1816 Shah Sujah, the Durani ruler of Afghanistan had been driven from his throne, and was a refugee in the Punjab. He was not a bad ruler, but was not strong or ruthless enough to ride an Afghan storm. His principal opponents were a large family of brothers known as the Barakzai, and they now ruled as kinglets in what was once a united kingdom. At Herat alone one of the Sadozais, as the clan

of Ahmad Shah was called, ruled. Most effective among the Barakzai brothers was Dost Muhammad, who ruled at Kabul. In the twenties and thirties the peace of the Punjab was broken with the constant attempts of the Afghans to wrest their old Indus districts from the Sikhs, or by Shah Sujah's attempts to recover his kingdom, to which end he more than once had raised forces in the Punjab, officered by Eurasian officers.

The British were seeking hard for some solution, both in Afghanistan and Sind. A young British traveller, Captain Alexander Burnes, had visited Kabul and had strongly urged, possibly rightly, that the Dost was the horse we should back. Then there came a Russian mission to Kabul. The Kinglets of Afghanistan were appealing to the Governor-General, as centuries ago they had appealed to the Great Mogul, for support and recognition. Even the Dost asked for his help. In India what had seemed a greater game than any, and one by no means existing only in moonshine, had the preference. It was probably more than even a well-played hand could carry, but it was so mishandled that history cannot say what its real value was. It was no less a scheme than to restore peace to Afghanistan, produce a cessation of the eternal quarrels on the Indus between Sikh and Afghan, and generally to support trade on the Indus waterway, by replacing Shah Sujah on the throne of his fathers, in alliance with Runjhith Singh and ourselves. Had this policy been successful much bloodshed and treasure would have been saved to all parties, and Afghanistan might have escaped the terrible tragedies of the twentieth century, which followed in such appalling sequence. These were the murder of Habibullah Khan in 1919, the subsequent inroad by and crushing defeat of his son Amanullah in that year, and the latter's squealing escape a few years later from the revolutionary Bacha Saqao, the eventual hanging of the usurper and all his cabinet in the Kabul bazaar, the accession of Nadir Shah and his recent murder . . . all tragedies

that the success of the Afghan policy of 1839 might have saved.

How did that policy unfold? Since Shah Sujah had twice nearly attained success with a Eurasian-led India-raised Contingent, it was believed that a British-led Company-trained Contingent would give him far more power. With this, backed by two divisions of Indo-British troops Shah Sujah was escorted in triumph by the circuitous route of Ferozpour, Sukkur, Kandahar and Ghuzni to Kabul. The only opposition was in the historic fortress of Ghuzni. This Sir John Keane stormed in the handsomest style, with explosion party and forlorn hope. Dost Muhammad, usually spoken of as the 'Dost', after arraying all his guns against us outside Kabul, was deserted by his troops and supporters, who even looted his camp, and fled alone to the Kohistan. The Shah was installed with ceremony on his father's throne. Young British politicals spread over the country to study the people and assist in the restoration of the Durani *régime*. All went merry as a marriage bell. The British and Afghans skated and played cricket together. The former rode about the country unescorted, they stayed and hawked with the Afghan gentry. The Army of the Indus, as the force that reinstated the Shah was termed, broke up. A force of some of these brigades remained in the country for a while besides the Shah's Contingent to which latter were added actual Afghan units.

Alas and alack! 1839 waned into 1840, and 1840 turned to 1841. All still went well. Local alarms and excursions caused minor operations, but the Dost himself came in to surrender and went in all honour and courtesy to reside at Calcutta. Sir William McNaghten the British Envoy who had engineered it all was appointed Governor of Bombay, and the young Burnes referred to, now Sir Alexander, was to succeed. The British went into open cantonments as they would at Hyderabad, the wives and families and pianos of officers and men moved up from India. We were treating

Afghanistan as a similar problem to Hyderabad.¹ Our troops had great contempt for the fighting powers of the Afghans; the sepoy of the Bengal Army even, when not frozen by cold, were as good on the hillside as the Afghan tribesmen.

This outline as well as what followed, is well worthy of our study here, both as illustrating one phase of our attitude to the Mogul heritage, the position as Mogul inheritor ceded to us by consent, and our failure in this particular development. The reason of failure and our essays at recovery, added to the typical pusillanimous collapse of the British will-power, in more modern metaphor, the exhaustion of the moral petrol, is a striking study, and not without warning for the future.

THE KABUL DÉBÂCLE

To us, more timorous and less venturesome than our forbears the whole of this proceeding of the casual military occupation appears a nightmare, especially the residence in open cantonments outside Kabul of the British brigade of occupation. But there was not a line of rail in the whole of India. We who had marched from Calcutta to the Indus, might surely venture with equal aplomb a few hundred miles further. We were the successors to the Mogul and we led the armies that the Mogul had led, supported by the bayonets of the British soldier, and the guns of the Bengal Artillery. Who's afraid? It was thus our forbears conquered and held India.

The cause of the toppling in this case is not far to seek, and was the result of folly incomparable. It has already been remarked that its study is all part of the story and the moral of the Princes of India. In the first place, we were insisting on the Shah ruling his unruly subjects on western lines. Not for him the knife, the noose, the blinding-iron, and the bowstring. They, the fixed machinery of Eastern political

¹ This refers to Hyderabad Deccan, not Sind as on p. 117.

supremacy were not in operation, or only to a very mild degree in a country that knew no other method, among princes and chiefs whose reputation for faithlessness among themselves was a proverb. The Shah had not therefore consolidated his position by the only methods he understood. Hanging and blinding however is for opponents, of that type of whom it may be said with Essex, "stone dead hath no fellow". The great mass of taxpaying subjects demand a reasonable and not unsympathetic government all the world over.

The Shah had made the great mistake of most sovereigns returning from deposition. It is the great instance of the wisdom of Charles II, that, however unwillingly, he did not depose his earlier opponents and instal his own exiled followers in the offices of state. Shah Sujah made an *émigré* his chief minister and filled the offices with the supporters of his previous regime. The country soon seethed with discontent. Moreover the Envoy in the earlier days finding the rapacious maws of the Ghilzais and other tribal chiefs always open wide, filled them with gold to keep them quiet.

But the Government of India and the Directors, as the months rolled on, decided that this must come to an end. The disappointed recipients of *Dane-gelt* were seized with resentful fury, yet the British force holding the whole of Afghanistan was less than we should use to-day to punish the Mohmands, backed by our aeroplane fleet.

Because it seemed so simple to the confident English, and to Simla, elated with the apparent success of its policy, the garrison of Kabul was treated much as that of Hyderabad. The Company's generals in these days of piping peace were often aged, unfit, and effete in too many cases and it seemed wise to those in military authority, that the force at Kabul was deserving of similar treatment! So when the efficient general who had taken the Shah to Kabul was withdrawn, with the bulk of his troops, an elderly gout-ridden officer of the British service was transported thither in a *palki*. In

the winter of 1841, the British force at Kabul with its aged commander, found itself in the midst of what threatened to be a serious rising. Instead of insisting on marching back to the fortress of the Bala Hissa which frowned down on Kabul, where they had spent a winter two years before, McNaghten and the General allowed themselves to be surrounded in the open, by snow and Afghans, their commissariat stores, almost unguarded, to be captured, and at last, after both McNaghten and Burnes had been murdered, General Elphinstone elected to surrender, and treat for evacuation. After every sort of vacuous action, the troops marched out in heavy snow, the Indians unable to wield arms and were, as all the world remembers, destroyed.¹ Such a sight had not been seen in India since Monson's retreat, already described, before Holkar.

Then fear, pusillanimity, and desperation seized that Britain that can stand foursquare to the world on great occasions, to the marvel of all. Men of the type who had impeached Warren Hastings, abused Marquis Wellesley, and yesterday deserted a minister, were allowed to take the helm. Happily the soldiers were better stuff, and if they were to evacuate Afghanistan intended to do so handsomely. The Brigades² at Kandahar and Jellalabad had been nothing dismayed by the folly of the Kabul authorities. Jellalabad, and Kela-i-Ghilzati were brilliantly defended, and the force at Kandahar triumphantly handled. General Nott at Kandahar was told he might retire to India via Kabul ! and Pollock gathering at Peshawar was told that he might advance to assist Notts' exit ! 'The Home and Indian Governments casting dignity and consistency to the winds before the Hastings-hounders, were ready to scuttle back to the Sutlej. The soldiers made the exit one of

¹ The force had only 4000 odd fighting men of whom 600 were Europeans. The remainder were frozen Hindustanis. Many thousand unarmed followers and labourers were with them, hampering all action.

² The Kabul force and the Ghuzni detachment were but one-quarter of the whole force.

dignity, storming the passes, capturing Kabul, punishing the murderers, rescuing the many officers and English women from captivity, and marching Home across the Punjab with immunity.

The Shah had been murdered, his sons were left unsupported, the Dost might go back if he were fool enough ! It was a sorry ending, and the worst thing we had yet done in India, save only that the soldiers and a new Governor-General had saved some of our prestige.

This particular attempt to recover the Mogul frontier, and attain an allied Afghanistan had failed. Yet many of our refugees were handsomely treated by Afghans, many friendships remained. The Afghans themselves, by no means had the feeling attributed to them by the somewhat egregious Kaye, and the Dost himself had so strong a remembrance of his treatment in Calcutta, that during the storm of the Mutiny, he refused to listen for a moment to those who demanded an invasion of India. It was not till 1881, that a ruler of Afghanistan entered into offensive and defensive alliance. He then drew a British contribution in money to his military exchequer, and what is more kept the alliance heartily for close on forty years. In 1919 after a complete victory over the new Amir who tried to combine with rebellion in India, the same folk who surrendered Ireland and betrayed the loyalists made a quite unnecessarily humiliating treaty with the defeated Afghans, which the latter are pleased to call their victorious war of Liberty.

These latter details are but added here to complete the outline. The collapse of 1842 brought in its train, as said, much the same troubles as occurred in the recoil after the Marquess Wellesley's great building of India. But the story of 1841-1842, is germane to the story of the making of the India pattern.

One point may be referred to if only to correct one of the stories circulated by critics of the Governor-General. That noble was undoubtedly of a flamboyant nature and easily

carried away by gallant deeds. He himself organized a great reception for the returning victors, disregarding, honestly enough, the fact that those victories were forced on him by the generals. He issued also a flamboyant proclamation to the princes and peoples of India making the best of a situation that was not too dignified, dwelling especially on the fact that he had ordered the Gates of the temple of Somnath which were in use as the gates of the great mosque of Ghuzni, to be brought back. These gates had been carried away from the Hindu temple of Somnath after a massacre of the priests, by Mahmud of Ghuzni eight hundred years before. This act was received by the English with great derision as a foolish piece of bombast out of touch with Indian sentiment, despite the fact that on the way to the fortress of Allahabad, whence they never emerged, they were worshipped by Brahmins along the route. Now while we may agree to the flamboyancy of the proclamation, the bringing of the gates (said not to be the original) must not be attributed to Lord Ellenborough's bad taste. When, a few years earlier, Shah Sujah and Runjhith Singh had entered into an alliance prior to one of the monarchs' unsuccessful attempts at return, it was the Maharajah Runjhith Singh himself who had included the return of these very gates as one of the conditions of his assistance. It is of interest therefore to try and catch up this particular lie that ran so far nearly a century ago.

THE ANNEXATION OF SIND

The story of the annexation of Sind, and therefore the extermination of a runaway state of Mogul Delhi, is also germane to the story of the States, and follows on that of the Afghan adventure, the more so that the usual traducers were barking hard. The usurping Talpoors, as just related, ruled without the least ruth or consideration for the people, and slavery of a vile kind was rampant. During the Afghan

War, they had been called on by the Governor-General to hand over the fortress of Sukkhur-Bhukkur, one thrice famous in history, to British care, so that the latter's passage of the Indus should be secure. They were also called on to allow the passage of the Bombay column to Kandahar, and its convoys of maintenance. During this time they were admirably handled by Captain Outram. After the Kabul disasters and the subsequent excitement, the Amirs kept their heads under his handling, and profited considerably by selling supplies and from other sources of revenue. Outram had contracted some sympathy and consideration for these picturesque, and, to him, agreeable hidalgo-bandits, the four Amirs of Sind, whose control was centred in the senior for the time being.

When the Afghan War was over, Sir Charles Napier, the commander of the Poona division, who had been busy restoring moral to the troops after the Kabul depression, was sent to Sind to withdraw the Kandahar force left after Nott had marched for Kabul. Lord Ellenborough the Governor-General, who in common with public opinion in India placed the Kabul disaster largely to the over-weening confidence and exaggerated authority entrusted to the officers of the Political Service, placed Napier in military and political charge, with Outram as his assistant.

He also propounded a new treaty to the Amirs which aimed at improving the river transit and the placing of a steam trading flotilla on the Indus and its tributaries. Unconsciously the attitude of the Viceroy was the attitude of a complete successor to the Mogul Raj, calling on one of its tributaries to conform to central policy. The treaty would improve Sindian revenues and make for prosperity, and certainly its provisions were essential to develop India and a trading Punjab.

While it was under discussion, it came to Napier's knowledge, who was soldier enough to have a good intelligence service, rather than follow the 'Afghan' habit of only

knowing what the political officers chose to reveal, that the Amirs had brought down many thousands of the Baluch tribes from the mountains, with the object of opposing him. They numbered ten times as many as his small force. Outram denied the truth of this. Napier, however, knew that he was correct, and swore he was not going to have his small force 'Kabuled', as was Elphinstone's a year before. He marched south against the tribal gatherings. The accuracy of the military information was forcibly borne in on Outram in the Residency at Hyderabad, which was attacked by vast hordes, he, after a stout defence by his escort, escaping to join Napier. Two fierce battles with tens of thousands of Baluchis followed, in which Napier gained desperate victories. The Governor-General decided on annexation, making Napier the first Governor.

It would have been possible to create a Sind ruler from among the four of them, but except their picturesqueness, there was little to be said on their behalf, for there was not the least inclination for good government or any bent in that direction. The State of Khairpur, however, in Upper Sind still provides a small throne for the descendant of the Amirs, in which one of the four was then retained.

Lord Ellenborough was fiercely attacked for the injustice of his policy. The Bombay papers printed disgraceful charges against military officers for which there was not a vestige of truth, for Sir Charles himself was a high-priest of upright conduct and right behaviour. His rough and ready rule, in which justice and probity were leading features, were admirably suited for the first few years of pacification, as a prelude to the routine of the Bombay Civil Servant. To look at the present state of desert Sind turned into a garden, and at Karachi as one of the premier ports of India, makes it possible to imagine the disaster for the future that the bolstering up of these new-come Talpoors could have meant. In Sind itself can the pudding be eaten, and for fifty years the name of Sir Charles Napier was a talisman

among the poor and oppressed, and the farmer and the trader. It is interesting to remember that when Sir Charles arrived at Calcutta in the hot season of 1849, and was proceeding up to Simla, the three deposed Amirs travelled sixty miles from their Residency to pay their respects to him.¹

¹ Modern writers, including Sir William Barton, still elect to repeat the old story of the unjustness of the Annexation, ignoring later documents that give facts in circumstantial detail (*vide India under Lord Ellenborough*, John Murray, 1926), being hitherto unpublished extracts from despatches and secret letters. Included therein is a remarkable letter from Sir Henry Hardinge then President of the Board of Control to Ellenborough commenting on the stream of false representations sent home privately to the Directors of the E. Indian Company by civil officers in India—Sir Henry succeeded Lord Ellenborough as Governor-General.

CHAPTER VII

THE PUNJAB, KASHMIR, AND OUDH

The Political Situation in Northern India in the Forties. The Gwalior D  b  cle in 1843. The Troubles in Southern Mahratta-land in 1844. Rise of the Sikh Kingdom. The Protected Sikh States. The First Sikh War and the Attempt to Maintain a Sikh Kingdom. The Establishment of the Kingdom of Kashmir. The Second Sikh War and the Annexation of the Punjab. The Situation in the Punjab in 1857. The Kingdom of Oudh. Lord Dalhousie's Annexation Policy.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN NORTHERN INDIA IN THE FORTIES

THE close of the Afghan Wars and the settling of the problem of Sind was followed by a situation of extreme interest in the final development of that Company's India which is the British India of to-day. It is right to remember in the foolish disparagement of that great concern, which writers without background indulge in, that the British India of the King Emperor is the gift of that Honourable East India Company. It was the Company's officers and soldiers with some stout backing of the Queen's Army, that made the India of to-day. Not one square yard of importance has been added thereto since that institution was laid to its rest.

It is the happenings therefore of the twelve years that preceded the Mutiny that now merit our attention, as they resulted in the *felo-de-se* of the great State of Lahore, and the completion of the pattern which we have been studying. It is the story of the extinction of one Sikh State and the providing and salving of a dozen others which endure to this day.

Let us first, however, for a moment, hark back to the time when Lord Lake rescued the tattered Mogul Emperor from Mahratta durance, and see how the North then stood and how the Sikh powers and the lesser Sikh States above mentioned, had arisen.

In 1803, the nominal frontier of the Durani Empire of Kabul lay far south of Lahore, on the Sutlej. The young

Sikh baron, Runjhit Singh, who had given considerable help to Zaman Shah, the Afghan Emperor, in getting his guns across the Chenab in flood, had been appointed the Governor of the Punjab in the Afghan interests.

The British frontier lay at Kurnal, which became a big cantonment to protect India against the constantly threatened invasion by the Afghans. Behind Kurnal lay Anupshahr, and later Meerut and Fategarh as supporting points. The great kingdom of Oudh lay down the Ganges, while Allahabad and Agra held the main line of communications. Between the British and the Afghan province of the Punjab lay the 'States of the Flower', the Sikh Phulkian states, Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, the Hindu state of Kapurthala, and several lesser principalities forming a useful buffer between our frontier and Afghan territory. Behind the British on their left, lay the great Mahratta state of Gwalior, defeated by Lord Lake and Arthur Wellesley, but a military power watched by a considerable force at Muttra.

In the forty years which followed between Lord Lake's failure before Bhurtpore and the First Sikh War, much water had flowed under the bridges. The British system of administration and justice had been firmly established in the newer provinces, and as we have seen the defended princes had settled down in their new Estate. Not a dog of war barked in internal India.

The phenomenon of importance during these forty years had been the rise and wane of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore, and from this story comes the kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir, and the Phulkian States and Princes in their present form. The story, therefore in outline is more than a portion of the historical side of our subject.

THE GWALIOR DÉBÂCLE OF 1843

The experiments in king-making and the 'debunking' of the Amirs just related left India undisturbed except so far

as the comparative crumbling of the Afghan venture brought loss of prestige. They were outside the orbit of administered or Princes' India. The warp and weft of the 'Great Little Marquess' went on in its intermediate and peaceful weaving, happily enough. Two sets of troubles, however, belong to the history thereof, the smashing of the overgrown arms-proud Gwalior Army, and the unfortunate wars among the Southern Mahratta States respectively, the one unavoidable in some form, the other born of ineptness and poor soldiering.

We may glance at the dynastic story of Gwalior since 1804. Mahdoji Rao Sindhia, the original '*Patel*' was one of the fortunate survivors of the Afghan knife at Panipat, as already recorded, who had set up 'on his own' in Western Malwa, free of the control of the now enfeebled Peshwa, and we have seen him through a long reign, acting as intermediary with the British at Salbai, playing a great game with the Mogul puppet in his hand, and raising under de Boigne a mighty western-warded army. But the years were closing on him, and in 1794 he died of a fever at Wuroli near Poona, before the Mahratta Confederacy had decided to fight the battle of death with the British. He left no issue, but according to custom had declared his nephew Doulat Rao Sindhia as his heir. Doulat Rao was but fifteen, and under the general tutelage for a while of the great Nana Furnavis. As Doulat Rao grew to mature age we have seen him deep in Mahratta intrigue, fighting outside Poona with Holkar, and finally overcalling his hand in the position at Delhi that his predecessor had acquired. Finally we have seen his army with its French officers destroyed at Assaye, at Argaum, at Delhi, and Laswari, within ten years of his accession. In 1803 he accepted a defended alliance with the British and retired into his shell with fairly good grace, as ruler of his own territories. Some wisdom and some good luck saved him from being involved in the further Mahratta débâcle and annexations of 1818 save that his

discovered intentions lost him Asirgarh, and during the subsequent years of weaving he remained at the head of his own considerable kingdom. A great and wise ruler he remained in amity with what was now the supreme power and passed away in 1827 leaving no issue. His widow Baiza Bhai was allowed to adopt a successor, an eleven year old boy Junkoji. Sixteen years later in 1843, Junkoji died childless, according to an ancient prediction that there would never be heirs of the body to a Sindhia, and for the third time the throne went by adoption. Tara Bhai his thirteen year old relict, was allowed to adopt a relative, a lad of tender years Jaiaji Rao. This meant a long minority and there were two candidates for the regency. One, the late rajah's maternal uncle known as the *Mama Sahib*, the other, the chief chamberlain and treasurer Dada Khasji Walla. The Governor-General recognized the former, although the little thirteen year Rani and her partisans would have preferred the latter. Now in Gwalior the remnant of de Boigne's great army still numbered 30,000 with all that general's great park of well-cast artillery and some 10,000 Mahratta horse. The Regent had the support of the British and active support was promised if he was impeded. This the army, not yet purged of its anti-British memories, resented.

In these years the military situation in upper India before the Governor-General's secret committee was alarming. The powerful Runjhit Singh, whose story is about to be related, who knew exactly where, in modern slang, the British 'got off' was dead. Anarchy reigned in the Punjab, such authority as there was lay with the strange army-soviet-system to be explained later, Gwalior and Lahore could dispose of 120,000 western-trained soldiers and 500 good cannon.

In Gwalior the army was taking sides between the individuals whom the British Army rejoiced in referring to as the 'Dada' and the 'Mama'. Lord Ellenborough

assembled an Army of Exercise under Sir Hugh Gough at Agra, and another force in Bundelkand. He announced his intention of coming to Gwalior to put matters right.¹ The Rani, the Dada and the Army carried on an intrigue, a clever slave girl intervening. The Rani wrote to the Governor-General to say she had dismissed the Regent, and the Dada took charge. This was more than the paramount Government could stand.

"The Government" wrote the Governor-General "could not allow the forty years of friendship with Gwalior to be thus broken." He and the Commander-in-Chief, marched on Gwalior, while Sir John Grey moved up from the Saugor territories. The Army took the law into their own hands, and boastfully marched out to meet their fate. Two fierce battles took place, Maharajpore and Punniar, and the army of De Boigne was no more. The fight at Maharajpore was on the larger scale and the British had close on 800 casualties. The Mahratta troops fought very desperately and 56 superb bronze guns were taken from them at the point of the bayonet.

On the 30th December the little Rani and still smaller Maharajah came in to Lord Ellenborough, and were informed of the terms which were reasonable enough. The state would remain in its integrity, the Rani would cease to have authority, there would be a Council of Regency till the boy was eighteen; the army would be reduced to 9000 men with 32 guns, and the Contingent would be increased to 10,000. That was the end of it. Unfortunately perhaps, the men of the old army were enlisted into the Contingent, men who came from Oudh and were brothers of the Bengal Sepoy. That Contingent became a most fashionable *corps d'élite*, till it mutinied and massacred in 1857.

So Gwalior under its boy Maharajah and a wise Council remained unimpaired in the pattern, and one of the military dangers disappeared. The story of the other must shortly

¹ His historical minute on Gwalior is given at the end of Chapter IX.

be told. The Political Department learnt or should have learnt, a good deal about the armies of the Princes' states from this débâcle.

THE TROUBLES IN SOUTHERN MAHRATTA-LAND, 1844

One more lesser happening belongs to the story of the warp and weft aforesaid. Down the hills among the Ghats on the western coast was a whole nest of small Mahratta states, all of which had entered into treaties and been recognized as ruling chiefs when the Peshwa's rule was broken up. For the most part peace and content had followed the events of 1817-18. The bandit states, such as Sawantwadi, had been settled by Lord Minto, Geriah having been tackled by the British and the Peshwa together half a century earlier. But now a series of local troubles was to produce a prolonged and mismanaged mountain war. Its details do not matter in this story, but it had some repercussions in 1857, when some of the lesser states gave trouble. There were no annexations, but the prolonged siege of one of the great Mahratta hill forts, Panalla, did not redound to the energy and skill of the British commander before it.

THE RISE OF THE SIKH KINGDOM

The Afghan power and obsession was waning as the British appeared on the Sutlej in 1804, but mothers still snatched up their children in terror as the rumour of the Afghan horse on the Indus and Jhelum swept through the villages. The memories and terror of Ahmad Shah's constant inroads, and of his destruction of the Mahrattas still held, but the menace was over. The Kurnal garrison helped to make it so. The Afghans held Peshawar, Attock, the Derajat, Mooltan and Kashmir, as part of their rightful territory, a country full of Afghan people. But, since their writ of horse and cannon no longer ran to the Sutlej, young

Runjhit Singh, their Sikh Governor, had proceeded to make the Punjab proper, the upper waters of the five rivers, his own, and Lahore, the ancient Mogul and Afghan city, his own capital. He organized his army on two lines, regular soldiers dressed and equipped like those of the Company, largely trained by British and French adventurers, by ex-N.C.O.s of the Company's line and the like, and besides this a mass of his own wild Sikh horsemen or *Gorcheras*. The British power he knew, understood, and kept the right side of.

His regular army was largely Moslem, for the Punjab is a Moslem country. His Sikhs were and are a small people, and even now but number with all ages and both sexes little over three millions. But the Punjab had been through, first the years of Mogul decay when Rome was falling, and secondly the century-old nightmare of the Afghan invasions and conquest. It wanted peace at any one's hands. Runjhit Singh the strong, the ruthless, the mighty in battle, gave it. He conquered Kashmir, Mooltan, the Derajat, and made the Indus his own. For thirty years his kingdom grew and prospered—a one-man show. One thing, with all his might, he could not do. He could breed no son of parts to take his place. One or two weaklings there were, the others were but putative. Women and wine were plentiful, sons were few, and the latter years of his court, despite his force and prestige, were years of terrible decadence and debauchery.

It is to be remembered that the Sikhs themselves are a very modern religious fraternity, born of the kindly philosophy of Baba-Nanak, who taught in the days of Martin Luther. The following came largely from the sturdy peasantry of that portion of the great Jāt and Jāt race which was Hindu and lay between Lahore and Delhi. Terribly persecuted by the Mogul, their fifth leader had welded the bulk of them into a great martial brotherhood, which ever engaged in desperate struggles, contributed in no small

outer barrier. This did not so much matter for the moment, but what was much more important, it was the paralysis through the Afghan struggle with the Sikhs, of the whole prospects of the Indus track-way and the financial structure of trade in Central Asia.

Then was conceived the ambitious scheme of restoring Afghanistan, in conjunction with the Sikhs, which has been traced in the last chapters. The interesting points here are the familiarity which the British and the Sikhs had acquired with each other, and the former's relations with the three powerful Jammu brothers. When it was all over and the avenging army from Kabul marched back over the Sutlej after four years mingled glory and tragedy, the scene in the Punjab had greatly changed. The Lion who had reviewed the British and Sikh armies at Ferozepore on the Sutlej was dead. His great kingdom was like to end in turmoil, and the British established at Ferozepore a second frontier cantonment on the Sutlej to cover the Phulkian States and the road to Delhi. What followed it is necessary to summarize if we are to trace the end of the Lahore State, the rise of the present State of Jammu and Kashmir, and continuance of the Phulkian States to this day.

THE FIRST SIKH WAR AND THE ATTEMPT TO MAINTAIN A SIKH KINGDOM

For six years after Runjhith Singh's death, one miserable or putative son succeeded to another, amid such scenes of murder, intrigue, treachery and debauchery as are unimaginable even in an Eastern capital. During the last two years of this period the great army that the Lion had organized, formed itself into a complete soviet system,¹ and endeavoured to dictate and direct affairs. The Government of India while waiting for some cataclysm, did occasionally endeavour

¹ Divisions, brigades, and units formed 'soldier councils', who controlled the commander in all save routine.

to steady matters, although resisting all calls to interfere. Its attitude, harmless as it was, exasperated the army, which, incited probably by the vizier at Lahore and his paramour, the ex-rani Jindan, mother of the infant Maharajah Dhulip Singh, in December 1845 flung itself on British India. The Governor-General, Viscount Hardinge had delayed in massing his troops in the fear of precipitating the threatened inroad, but Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-Chief at once led forward all that were available, fighting and winning battles of Moodki, Ferozeshah and Aliwal, the fiercest ever fought on Indian soil. Pausing on the Sutlej while reinforcements and heavy guns marched to him, the Sikh Army at Sobraon, the 'two Sobras', was finally driven into the Sutlej with heavy loss, and the British passed on to Lahore, being met en route by the ex-rani and the young ruler.

There was nothing the British desired less than to enlarge its responsibilities by annexation. It was decided to set up a Sikh council during the minority, guided by a British Resident, and to send officers to help the provincial governors to reconstitute the Army on manageable lines. It was hoped thus to erect a well-organized and contented Sikh Kingdom.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM OF KASHMIR

We now come to the period of the constitution of the new Kingdom of Jammu and Kashmir. The Government of India took to itself the district known as the Jullunder Doab, thus further protecting the Phulkian States. It further decided to offer to the Rajput prince and Sikh general, Gulab Singh, rajah of the hill state of Jammu, tributary to the Sikhs, the former Mogul and till 1820, Afghan, province of Kashmir. It was a province with a Moslem peasantry, a Brahmin intelligentsia and a few Afghan and Sikh colonists. The State of Jammu lay in the

sub-montane track of the Himalayas, on the other side of which lay Kashmir, and consisted largely of Hindu Rajputs and folk of lesser cognate castes.

The British policy in, it has been said, needlessly establishing this kingdom, selling Kashmir to Gulab Singh, as it has been called, has often been heedlessly criticized. But it was at most a concomitant of the policy of endeavouring to maintain a Sikh Kingdom. That kingdom was unwieldy, Kashmir was hard of approach and it could not be administered as a British province. It was not undesirable to have a power on the Sikh flank, moving on a different axis; the story of its sale emanates from Gulab Singh's offer to pay a portion of the Sikh War Indemnity, reinforced by perhaps nebulous claim to be part owner of certain Sikh treasure sequestered in British India.

The kingdom thus founded, its new ruler being one of the astutest men of his time, its rule by him and his successors has continued without interruption. Gulab Singh's army, organized like that of the Sikhs on European lines, soon brought under his sway all the small kingdoms under the shadow of the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs including Chitral.

Jammu and Kashmir alone of the Indian States is on the outer frontier, its confines marching with China, Afghanistan and almost with Russia as Russia and Afghanistan developed their hinterlands. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, Russian officers actually crossed into Kashmir and the decision of the British Government to support the state by making its authority effective, was responsible for the Hunza Expedition, and events that led up to the Chitral Campaign, in both of which the Jammu army took part. There are no fit races to form soldiers from in Kashmir itself.¹

Thus Jammu and Kashmir differs from all the other states of India, first in being established, *ab initio* by the

¹ Save perhaps among the few Sikh and Afghan colonists aforesaid.

British Government, and not like Mysore being restored, secondly, in having an outer frontier with its troops always on frontier service below the Pamirs.¹

In 1857, as soon as it was evident that the British were not overwhelmed by the Indian Mutiny, it sent under one of the younger Lawrences, Major Dick Lawrence, a considerable if not very effective force to take part in the siege of Delhi.

THE SECOND WAR AND THE ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB

When Lord Hardinge laid down the Governor-Generalship in 1847, he prophesied that nothing could now call the Armies of India from their cantonments. But alas, the best-laid plans "gang aft agley"! Public opinion in India was none too hopeful of the reinaugurated kingdom. The Sikh Durbar in Lahore under the wise and sympathetic Henry Lawrence, was appraising its job fairly enough, when a rebellion by a displaced Governor at Multan, entirely unexpected by all in authority, soon developed into an insurrection of the Northern Chiefs and troops against their Durbar, chiefly those troops who had not suffered defeat at Lord Gough's hands in 1845-1846.

At first the outbreak seemed but local, and Sikh troops proceeded to put down the insurrection, in which a Sikh² frontier brigade led by the young 'political,' Herbert Edwards, gained undying renown. A siege of Multan was now inevitable and a British brigade brought a siege train from Lahore. The siege was delayed by a large portion of the Sikh troops marching off to join the rebels in the North. A Bombay Brigade from Kurachi eventually arrived and Multan fell, after which Lord Gough from Lahore proceeded to move against the Sikh Armies beyond the Chenab. Then followed the fierce battle of Chillianwallah, the

¹ This peculiar feature is developed in Chapter X.

² Its ingredients were largely Moslem.

crushing victory of Gujerat, the surrender of the Sikh armies, and the annexation of the Punjab by Lord Dalhousie, who had succeeded Viscount Hardinge as Governor-General.

Thus ended the one-generation state that lay between the British frontier and Afghanistan. The lure of the Indus, the drag to the North, had compelled the unwilling Company to take control of the whole of the Mogul Provinces except Kabul. The same drag had, as related taken us there also, but without our usual success. With the annexation of the Punjab, Indian States outside the sphere of British suzerainty ceasing to exist, the position of the subsidiary state of Jammu and Kashmir became the more pronounced, while that of the Phulkian States also became more sharply defined. Though continuing on the same amicable footing as before, Bahawalpur, whose forces had assisted Herbert Edwards in his first investment of Multan, became firmly knit into the protected hierarchy as a state which the Government delighted to honour. The result of this four years of fierce campaigning had therefore added Jammu and Kashmir, and Bahawalpur to the numerous Princes' States, though under quite different conditions and with status conferred by special and differing treaties.

THE KINGDOM OF OUDH

On the N.E. side of the Ganges, between the Holy River and the Himalayas, stood the Moslem kingdom of Oudh, the modern form of the ancient Hindu State of Ajudhya (Oudh). Trimmed and to some extent truncated by various dealings with the Company, it has been, like Hyderabad and Bengal, one of the great Viceregal provinces of the Mogul Empire. Its ruler was one of the Lords of Iran, or Persia, who with the Turkish Lords, i.e., the Lords of Turan vied with each other for power at the Mogul Court, had long been known as the Nawab Vizier, that is to say he held

the high office of Vizier to the Empire, as an heirloom in his family, combining it with the subadari or nawabi of Oudh. But though the Nawab whose capital was Lucknow, was a Moslem, a Moslem too of the Shiah division of that faith, as distinct from the Sunni or orthodox, yet his kingdom was largely Hindu and comprised a large portion of that part of India known as Hindustan. The great barons, landowners also, were Hindu, and from the peasantry the rulers of India had long, long indeed before the days of John Company, drawn the bulk of their organized soldiery. That peasantry was largely descended from that portion of Rajput India which had not 'trekked' to Rajasthan before the Moslem invasion and conquest. The chiefs indeed had gone, but the bulk of their clansmen had remained. From them Rajput and Brahmin, came the regular foot-soldier, like the cat, faithful to the House rather than to the Master, faithful to India rather than its rulers when the salt had lost its savour. At the court at Lucknow was collected the cream of swashbucklery and an entourage of entirely worthless voluptuaries. But the Nawab-Vizier, when the Mogul power had collapsed, set up like the other viceroys 'on his own'. The British now firmly established on the lower Ganges, entered into alliance with him against the Mahrattas, who would now over-run his country, and his equally ruthless and entirely self-seeking neighbours, the Rohillas, the Afghan fief-holders from the mountains of Roh.

Finally, in alliance, he had received at his capital a British 'subsidiary force' for his protection, and had been encouraged to assume the title of King of Oudh. But this court and crown was never to be worthy of its future and destiny. The descendants of the Nawab-Vizier had been worthless. Never had an Indian Court, save that of Lahore for the few years succeeding the death of Runjhith Singh, ruled so feebly and so corruptly. For fifty years before 1856, the deeds of Lucknow called to

High Heaven for vengeance and for an ending. The Company, mindful of its alliance, had time and time again endeavoured to postpone its obvious duty of taking over the kingdom. Time and again grave remonstrances had been met by tears, promises, and high-sounding measures of reform which bore no fruit. Warning after warning, grave and solemn had been disregarded. The Company and the Crown in 1856 had agreed that the cup was filled to the brim. Lord Dalhousie, given as he was to an annexationist train of thought, actually demurred and thought that one more trial under more forceful conditions could be made. He was ordered, however, to make an end to the kingdom, and six years after the Sikh State had insisted on crushing our endeavour to keep it in being for the infant Dhulip Singh, this other great province was added to the British or administered portion of the Indian Continent. Whether it was a wise move or not, it is impossible to deny that it was one which, save for the interruption of the rebellion which accompanied the Mutiny of the Army next year, brought immense prosperity to a country long plunged into the horrors of a corrupt and extortionist government.

This annexation was not part of Lord Dalhousie's policy often commented on, of annexation of derelict states, nor can the fate just recorded of the Sikh *régime* itself an upstart, and a happening which the Directors had been most anxious to avoid, be attributed thereto. Such annexations as His Lordship actually did carry out may now be alluded to.

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ANNEXATION POLICY

It was the prevalent idea in the fifties, that the people of India were infinitely better off under British rule than in the Princes' States. Such a view was by no means solely due to British complacency or Victorian liberalism. We

cannot imagine at this stage of Indian development, the astounding collapse of all administration in the ruins of the Mogul Empire. The story of Thuggism and of that strange drama of the Pindaris—that vast organised concourse of unemployed soldiery and masterless men, who made the forests of the Nerbudda their lair—are alone ample evidence of what to a greater or less extent prevailed all over India.

While the British sat down to bring about law and order and to make roads, the Princes' States were mostly glad to let ill alone. To reform the Governments of the States was a slow business, to take them over and to do it by direct method far easier. There was then little comparison between the peace and prosperity, within and without, the Company's borders. It was not therefore to be wondered at that many earnest reformers, of no very wide mental horizon took the shorter view, that where there was no rightful heir to the throne, the State should lapse to the Company, which really meant to the British Crown. There is a foolish and entirely wrong-headed way of looking at the acquisition of territory by the Crown or Company still prevalent in ill-informed quarters, and often swallowed by Indian students, to the effect that revenue was thus transferred to British pockets; nothing could be further from the truth, whether now or in the days of the Company. Indian revenues have always been used to meet the cost of administration and progress. Nothing came to England save in payment for goods bought, or in the case of pensions and interest on stock, for services rendered. To say that when Oudh was annexed the Company seized the revenues, was ludicrous yet too often believed. Annexation only meant that revenues were justly applied to the purposes of the kingdom, rather than unjustly applied to feed the extravagance of the ruler, and the greed of his ministry, surpluses if any being used for the good of India.

During Lord Dalhousie's administration several princes died heirless, and it was held that in absence of any heir of the body, the throne and territory lapsed to the Company (as representative of the Crown). The process of true adoption in Hindu times was very complicated, often involving 'uterine adoption', viz., the adoption of the unborn child, and even in some cases, the transfer of the expectant mothers to the adopters' zenana. The custom of Hinduism in such matters is due to a mythical conception of life and death and procreation, not easily understood by the West.

It was often said by those who were searching for the reasons for the Indian Mutiny that these annexations were among the immediate causes. That they alarmed the remaining princes of India is no doubt true, especially in those cases, such as the three to be now mentioned, when adoption was not allowed and recognized. Yet the best answer to this argument is that the Princes of India almost to a man either failed to seize the opportunity offered for rebellion, or took an active part in opposing and quelling it. In Indian eyes, the fact that we had stomached Oudh so long had been a marvel, while the downfall of the upstart and scandalous Sikh *régime*, beyond a passing regret at the fall of an Indian throne, caused little comment. To the masses of India the Sikhs were an unknown factor and a little known people.

When India came directly under the Crown, the guarantee however, that heirless princes should always be allowed the rights of adoption customary to their class and creed, was, as will be explained, received with great satisfaction as well as universal relief. It meant that the hands of the worthy but egregious British statesmen of levelling tendency would once and for all be stayed. Neither levelling nor equalisation for the sake of uniformity would be allowed to prevail. Victorian bureaucracy was circumvented.

As a considered policy, however, annexation only took

place in the case of Jhansi, Satara and Nagpore, which by chance coincided with the unavoidable annexation of the Punjab in 1849, and the long overdue fore-closing on the feeble and disreputable court of Lucknow. Even where officials of the Government regretted the steps taken as perhaps unpolitic, or hard on the displaced families, in which the heir had died out, they readily saw that benefits to the poverty-stricken subjects would quickly accrue.

Two of these three annexations were not unwarranted, as a mere matter of succession as well as that of administration. Satara it will be remembered, had been created by the Company in 1818 to find some home for the descendant of Sivaji whom the Peshwa had evicted. In 1849 the Rajah died without issue, and with no heir that could possibly be adopted of the line of Sivaji. Under these circumstances Lord Dalhousie and the Court held that what the Court had given that it could take away, and Satara was resumed, arousing very few feelings on the matter. Old British officers however who understood the Mahratta spirit, would have preferred the maintenance of the throne of Sivaji, by any means. Jhansi was a small Mahratta Brahmin state or subahdari of the Peshwa, virtually formed into a state by the British in 1818, and to whose head in 1832 the Governor-General had given the title of Maharajah. In 1853 the dying prince wished to adopt a very distant relative. Since annexation was then held to be so much better for the people, the adoption was not allowed. Nagpore was another matter. It was a state of over four million inhabitants. The Rajah had often been urged by the Resident to adopt an heir, but had always neglected to do so. By Mahratta precedent the widows might have adopted, but could only produce relatives on the female side. Lord Dalhousie incorrectly claiming that this state, the Bonsla's, had been formed by the British, determined on annexation, despite advice from more competent circles not to do so. It may be said that this alone of all the

annexations during this Vice-royalty gave fair cause for outcry or resentment in either British or Princes' India. The Jhansi annexation was a pity because the widow was a very capable woman who would have managed a minority well, but it was not particularly unreasonable.

BOOK II

THE MUTINY TO THE WORLD WAR

- CHAPTER VIII. THE PRINCES AND STATES IN 1857
CHAPTER IX. THE PRINCES UNDER THE CROWN 1859-1919
CHAPTER X. THE FORCES MAINTAINED BY THE PRINCES

CHAPTER VIII

THE PRINCES AND STATES IN 1857

India and the Princes' States immediately before the Mutiny. The Behaviour of the Princes in 1857. The Actual Effect of the Mutiny of the Bengal Army. Sindhia and Holkar. The Attitude of the Punjab States. The Example of Hyderabad. The Action of Nepal.

INDIA AND THE PRINCES' STATES IMMEDIATELY BEFORE THE MUTINY

THE ending of the rule of the Honourable East India Company opened an entirely new chapter in the relationship of the Indian Princes with the British Power. But that change in the status of the Princes was by no means entirely due to their coming into direct touch with the Crown. The alteration was equally, if not more due to the rapid change in the world, due to the era of steam. Before the mutiny of the Bengal Army, an era of civilization and scientific progress was already spreading to India. Science applied to cultivation and mineral development had been much stimulated by Lord Dalhousie's policy. The electric telegraph was replacing the semaphore, railways had started up country from both Calcutta and Bombay. The pouring into India of masses of European troops to an extent far exceeding anything ever seen before, and the concomitant development of trade, and the opening up of the route from Bombay to Delhi, had prodigious effects. The coincidence of these with the assumption of sovereignty by the Crown induces us to put many changes down to the latter, which were really more due to the march of events.

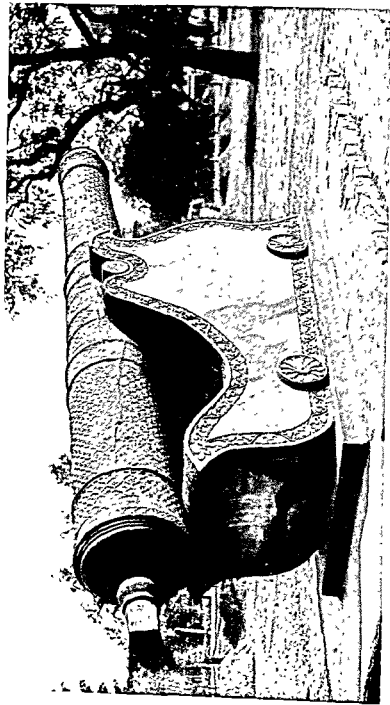
Almost to the time of the advent of the Crown, the larger Princes were powers to be considered in the secret military councils of the Government of India. The armaments of their forces, some still the living remnant of the French and adventurer-trained armies of half a century earlier, were a serious matter. In 1843, the Company had been engaged in fierce battle with the recalcitrant Amirs of

Sind, and their vast tribal forces, and in the same year, as related, the disciplined army of one of the greater States, threw itself on the bayonets of Sir Hugh Gough's force. Prior to that, Gwalior and the Sikhs had been planning the concerted action before mentioned. The rebel armies of the Khalsa had put up the fiercest struggles in 1845-1846, and again in 1848-1849, that the British Army had yet encountered in India. So recently as 1844, we saw a large British force engaged in the Southern Mahratta country against an outbreak on the part of the ruler of Kohlapur and his neighbours. The cannon in possession of the States was quite as good as that of the Company's Artillery, even if not so well organized and transported, and always of heavier metal. One muzzle-loading smooth-bore, whether cannon or musket, was not very different from another, so that the general armament of the organized armies of the States was not so very inferior to that of Queen's or Company's troops.

This is a very important point to remember in studying the position in India of the fifties. The anxiety regarding the great armies of the Punjab was over, and the Gwalior army had been crushed and reorganized, but still the States within our gates were powers, not yet fully understanding our power, our benevolence, or our policy, especially in view of Lord Dalhousie's annexations already described.

The Anglo-Indian armies stood, as they stood after the Wars of Lord Lake and the Pindari War, watching the armies of the States of India. The subsidiary forces of the Marquis Wellesley very properly still remained *in situ* at Secunderabad, close to the old Mogul subahdari of Hyderabad. The force at Mhow watched as well as protected Holkar. Cawnpore watched Oudh, Agra Jhansi, and Muttra kept an eye on even the reorganized Gwalior.

Because of the memory of the Mahratta combination of 1817, and the attempt of Gwalior and Lahore to combine



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

ANCIENT CANNON IN THE JAT STATE OF DHOLPUR



A FORT IN THE DECCAN RELIC OF OLD FAR OFF DAYS BEFORE THE BRITISH 'PEACE'

Bidar Fort, built by Ahmed Shah Wali Bahmani in 1430, when Islam was overrunning India.

against Britain in the early forties, the Chiefs were forbidden, very properly at the time, to communicate with each other except through the British diplomatic agents at their courts. Such communication could as a rule be had on questions of neutral trade and neighbourly advantage, but not on how to restrain and oppose the extension of British Power. As in those days someone behind the scenes understood British business, the observance of this restriction was not prompted by caprice, but by perfectly sound temporary policy.

THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE PRINCES IN 1857

The crisis in India incorrectly known as the 'Indian Mutiny' which was really only the mutiny of the Bengal Army, being the larger part of the components, but not half the total armed forces, naturally produced intense excitement and marvel. For fifty years India had been watching and wondering at the astonishing way derelict India was melting before the power and humanity of the British, as personified by the mighty East India Company. Now suddenly it really did seem that this strange power of the West might be petering out. There were the disasters in Afghanistan aforesaid, the strange rumours anent the Bengal sepoy in the Sikh Wars. There was the gossip in the bazaars about the Crimean War, and the two British failures before the Redan, one, actually witnessed by the Nana's henchman Azimullah Khan.

The support given by Great Britain to the Turk in the Russian War of 1854-1855 had been recognized by the orthodox in Islamic circles, but on the other hand the War with Persia in 1857 had been used by the orthodox as well as in Shiah circles primarily interested, to arouse indignation. Coming after Lord Dalhousie's resumption of Jhansi, Nagpore and Satara, the Annexation of Oudh just described, caused much gossip and indignation, and the

administration of the revenue was regarded as the confiscation of such by the ignorant.

These events were as readily canvassed in court circles in the Princes' States, as they were in their bazaars and those of British India.

The explosion of the Bengal Army came as a bombshell entirely unlooked for in normal British and even Princely circles. The revolutionary Soviet system arising in the Bengal units, probably inspired by the experiences in the Sikh army, was confined only to a few choice spirits in each unit, who worked on the discontented, the gambling wrestlers, and the like. The Princes had no doubt been sounded, usually through some Brahmin or other confidential minister, but however they might gird at the memory of lost ambitions, as with the Mahrattas, or cherish chagrin at the Khalsa defeat as in the Cis-Sutlej Phulkian States, or among the relatives and ruling families of resumed States, there was no desire for a share in the Mutiny venture. It was obvious to them all, as to whosoever reflects on the matter, that those among them who were aware of a real planned outbreak would not be prepared to avail themselves of the opportunity until the incapacity of the British to make headway was fully proved.

But there has never been any evidence that the chiefs were formally approached by any one of importance concerned in fomenting the mutiny. In spite of such reactionary feelings and chagrin as just mentioned, it is to be remembered that many of the Princes owed their position to the support of the British.

THE ACTUAL EFFECT OF THE BENGAL MUTINY

The story of the Mutiny of the Bengal Army is too well remembered to need outline here, but the area affected must be glanced at, because the navigable Ganges was the great line of communication of Eastern and Northern India.

The bulk of the military cantonments were on that mighty river or its tributaries, the Jumna and the Gogra. The Mutiny commenced at Meerut, save a preliminary *émeute* at Barrackpore near Calcutta, and it spread up and down the river towards Allahabad and the Punjab. The extraordinary situation existed that the Governor-General and all his great departments of state were in Calcutta, while the Army Headquarters were in Simla. The telegraph service was in its infancy, railways there were none, save a hundred miles or so north of Calcutta. The outbreak at Meerut and Delhi absolutely cut off the Commander-in-Chief and all his departments from the Governor-General and his ministers. Such ineptness as there was in 'getting a move on', ineptness very much magnified owing to the ignorance of what was going on in military circles on the part of the principal historian, is entirely to be accounted for by this strange condition of affairs. Even in this day of wireless and railways, such a condition in the event of trouble of the same kind to-day would be impossible to imagine. The Commander-in-Chief in a country like India and the Governor-General cannot be imagined as apart. The Governor of the Northwest Provinces, in whose area most of the mutinous cantonments lay was shut up in Agra Fort, the Commander-in-Chief on his march to Delhi died of cholera, and the Adjutant-General was killed in the first engagement with the Delhi mutineers. What a situation!

Because of the recent annexation of the Punjab, the bulk of the British garrison had somewhat shortsightedly been concentrated in the Punjab, mainly occupied in watching the Afghan border, from whence the invasions of India had always come.

Between the Punjab and the remainder of the garrison of upper India now marching from Amballa and Meerut on Delhi, were the Phulkian States with the State of Jammu and Kashmir on the east.

If we look at the map of India, we shall see how most of

the greater princes were situated with regard to the mutinous or insurrectionary areas. It will be seen that on the flank of the Punjab were Kashmir on one side, and Bhawalpur on the other. Kashmir had been entirely created a few years before by the British out of the hitherto Sikh military state of Jammu, by the addition of a greater Afghani-Sikh province. Bhawalpur had been allied with the British against the Sikhs and had derived territory and advantages therefrom. The Phulkian States have been saved or protected for fifty years. The principal area of rebellion was the line of the Ganges and Jumma, with their tributaries, viz., the main communications of ancient Hindustan. Along these rivers the principal states were Gwalior and Bhurtpure. We have just seen how the old-time army of Gwalior, grown too big for its boots and too dominant for its rulers had been crushed by Lord Ellenborough in 1843. The present Sindhia, but a child in 1843, now a young man, owed his security from within as well as without to the support of the paramount power. Bhurtpure, the arrogant and impregnable state of Lord Lake's day, had as we have seen, been seized by an usurper, had bitten the dust before half the artillery in India thirty years before, and the rightful dynasty restored. The Chief of Bhurtpure owed all he had to the British.

Down to the south of Delhi lay the Rajput states, whose position since the rise of the British has been described. Speaking generally, they were not likely to acquiesce in any general anti-British move.

Far away in Central India, garrisons of the Bengal army did form a storm centre to which some princes might have allied themselves. At Mhow, at Neemuch, at Nasirabad, the Bengal troops mutinied, more or less fiercely.

The actual attitude of the great Mahratta chieftain Holkar is something of a controversy to this day. Otherwise, the mass of chiefs in the vicinity stood loyal, but their troops did not.

SINDHIA AND HOLKAR

The state of Gwalior, as reorganized after 1843, had two armies, its fashionable "contingent," expanded into what was almost a *force d'élite*, under British officers and a British brigadier, and its own regular army, the remnant of the force so heavily handled by Sir Hugh Gough's two forces at Maharajpore and Puniar in that year.

The Contingent was partly disposed to keep open the road from the West in the more lawless parts of Sindhia's territory, its headquarters and main stations being at Morar near Gwalior. That Contingent, having the same constituents as the Bengal Army caught the prevailing disease, expelled its officers, massacring some with their families, and enforced some duress on the bewildered Maharajah.

Jaijaji Rao Sindhia was the same boy of nine, whom we have seen adopted from an obscure branch of the family, and whose adopted mother and her army got themselves into such trouble fourteen years earlier. The Prince was now a young man, who had no great character, but was imbued with a great affection for his Resident, Major S. C. Macpherson. He had further a remarkable Deccani Brahmin minister Dinkur Rao, who during the last years of the minority had worked unceasingly to put into order the vast territories which still remained to the State of Gwalior. In addition to his affection for Macpherson, and his amazing minister, Jaijaji Rao had visited Lord Canning in Calcutta, had been delighted with his reception, and immensely struck with all he had seen, the great steamers, the incipient railways, the factories and the great wealth that the British had there engendered and protected.

When the Mutiny broke out, and there were signs that the Contingent was developing the disease, Sindhia took the families who had assembled in the Residency to his palace, but the fatuous brigadier recalled them. After the

mutinies and murders of many, he, with his own troopers sent them and the Resident to the city of refuge for all, Agra. From Agra, fortified by constant letters from Macpherson, he and Dinkur Rao, with two staunch soldiers of his own forces, was resolute in performing the greatest service that was in his power. For four months he succeeded in keeping the Contingent hanging about Gwalior, instead of moving against Agra or joining the Mahratta centre of the Nana's adherents at Cawnpore. Had the Contingent gone there, Havelock's reinforcement of the Lucknow garrison would have been impossible. Soldiering, especially its drill and parade side, was the young prince's hobby. His own army, as distinct from the Contingent, was his special toy. He believed in its faithfulness to him, and had he chosen to lead his own 10,000 with the 6000 of the Contingent and their goodly artillery to Cawnpore, Agra, or even Delhi, it would have been a serious matter. Still more would it have been disastrous, if, after the Relief of Lucknow, he had helped Tantia Topeh in that most alarming of all the movements then in progress, the setting up of the *Baghwan Jhanda*, the great flag of the Mahratta Confederacy. He kept them all 'messaging about' round Gwalior, till after the rains. Then finally, when the Contingent, detained till long after the fall of Delhi and the march of Greathead's relieving column from Delhi to Agra, would stop no longer and marched to Cawnpore in the middle of October, Sindhia still kept his own army around him at Gwalior. When in June 1858, Tantia Topeh marched to Gwalior Sindhia actually attacked him, but his army refused to fight, and joined the rebels, and the Mahratta standard. Sindhia himself escaped to Agra, later marching with Sir Hugh Rose to Kapli and Gwalior, when his capital was recovered for him. Well might Lord Canning say that he had "seen a few patches of Native Government prove breakwaters to the storm, which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave."

That he owed the rewards and prestige that became his, to his wise minister, as much as to his own resolution, cannot be doubted. Macpherson and Dinkur Rao were staunch friends, and the Resident's persistent advice from Agra fell on the ears of one well-inclined to keep him straight, as also the soldiers Bulwunt Rao and Mohurgurh. When Tantia's forces drove out Sindhia, they burnt the Palace, the Residency, and the houses of Dinkur Rao and these two soldiers. For many years after, Rajah Sir Dinkur Rao, as he became, was a famous and trusted post-Mutiny statesman. As for instance of the unstable character of the Maharajah which these pillars of the state so exalted, it is recorded, that he at once took back to his bosom all those of his army who had left him, and even took his meals with them. The more honour to all those who stimulated the other side of his character to stand both himself and the paramount power in such good stead.

The case of Holkar was different. Not a man of any apparent strength of character, the Agent to the Governor-General on whom he relied and who had done much to stabilize him and his State, Colonel Hamilton, was absent. Colonel Durand, the famous soldier political of the Bengal Engineers was 'acting'. To Holkar the obligation to study the personality of a new A.G.G. when such a crisis arose, was almost a disaster. When the trouble arose, detachments of several of the Central Indian contingents had been summoned to Indore. All except the Bhil Contingent, who were of no great value, mutinied, as did a detachment of Holkar's troops stationed at the Residency for protection. Holkar rather typically shut himself up in his Palace. A few loyal Sikh troopers of the Bhopal Contingent Cavalry offered to take the Resident and the Europeans, including women, away. After the Bhopal guns had replied awhile to the Mutineers, manned by European oddments, the party escaped. Durand always and not unnaturally regarded Holkar as both helpless and ill-intentioned. Hamilton who

returned from furlough held him as one overpowered and constrained, and not able to take a better line. In fact there was no Dinkur Rao, minister, nor Bulwant Rao, soldier, at his elbow.

Afterwards Holkar was helpful enough, but that showed no indication of what his inmost attitude in our time of trouble really was. Government left it at that, and Indore is not a twenty-one gun state !

THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE PUNJAB STATES¹

In the circumstances of the scanty European Garrison between Calcutta and Meerut, and the vast distances involved as well as the conditions of Lucknow as a storm-centre, both the Lucknow 'Residency' and Agra the cities of refuge were cut off. There was no chance of reinforcement or military supply reaching the force attacking the Mogul standard and its mutineer supporters, now numbering 40,000, save from the Punjab. From there would come, not only European troops, but Indians of races with no sympathy for the mutineers or the Mogul name. But between Lahore and Delhi lay the Phulkian States, and on the Eastern flank of the road, Jammu and Kashmir. Because there was at Amballa a Commissioner of resolution and judgement¹ who was in political charge of the Phulkian States, and because those chiefs had nothing but happy relations with the British, they, led by the Maharajahs of Patiala and Nabha, at once put all their resources at Government's disposal. They kept open the great trunk road from the north, they watched detachments of suspected regiments, they hunted mutineers and rebellion inciters from their dominions. The prompt marching of the British troops from the Simla hills, Amballa and Meerut on Delhi, the self-reliant and dominant attitude of John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, and the

¹ Mr. G. Barnes.

stories of John Nicholson and his moveable column all served to strengthen their resolution. It was largely by their good offices that the long column of military stores came down to Delhi from Phillour and Ferozepore arsenals and that the light siege train, followed in due course by the heavy one, marched, lightly escorted, by the long road from the Punjab. It is not for nothing that these Sikh Princes, Patiala, Nabha, Jhind and Kapurthala, are held in high regard in the councils of the British.

Distant Kashmir, where many British officers, pioneers of the modern habit, were on leave when the Mutiny broke out, was naturally little touched. But at Jammu, where an army trained by French and British adventurers, had survived the Punjab trouble, there was ground for anxiety. It numbered a considerable number of Hindustanis in the ranks, and it was disturbed by the fact that in the very cantonment that set a watch on them, Sialkot, a murderous outbreak had taken place. There were several in high places in the State, who had an unwarranted hostility to the British. The ruler himself however was completely orthodox in his loyalty, though sheltering some of the Sialkot mutineers. On the other hand he helped in the hunting down of the remnants of the mutinous 55th Infantry from Nowshera and Mardan, and as the great hand of Lawrence increased its grip on the Punjab, sent down a considerable portion of his army, as already mentioned, to the capture of Delhi. The British policy of 1846 had borne good fruit.

THE EXAMPLE OF HYDERABAD

The great Mogul survival at Hyderabad was not unnaturally stirred by the drum ecclesiastic that Moslem fanatics were sounding. The astonishing news from Delhi that the great Mogul had been re-established, if by a Hindu soldiery, for the moment caused wonder and amazement,

and undoubtedly resounded in many hearts, causing the vibration of long silent strings. A remarkable story is told by Mr. Thornton, magistrate of Muttra, of how the news came to his court as he was sitting at business. His office establishment was largely Moslem, and as the news was read, the magistrate's presence forgotten, all began to discuss eagerly who would fill this or that office of Empire, offices dead a century, but living by reason of their former splendour in all the minds of India. But the Nizam had a very distinct idea of all that British friendship had meant to him in the last fifty years, and how his predecessors had been rescued from the Mahrattas, as much as had been the imprisoned Mogul. His youthful minister Salar Jung, had a very wise head on young shoulders, and acted with promptness. The 1st Nizam's Cavalry at Aurungbad had caught the contagion and broke into mutiny of the fiercer kind. A column from Poona including British dragoons appeared on the scene, the regiment was dispersed and many were arrested. Several escaped to Hyderabad, where the Moslem city was seething with excitement. Salar Jung handed the runaway mutineers to the Resident. No more untoward incident happened than an attack on the Residency by some Rohillas and fanatics, thwarted by the gallant and resolute behaviour of a troop of Madras Native Horse Artillery. It was not till Delhi fell that matters quieted down in Hyderabad, but Salar Jung carried out his master's policy of loyalty with great strength and wisdom. The remainder of the Contingent remained staunch, and took part in the suppression of mutiny and rebellion in Central India with distinction. The staunchness of the Hyderabad ruler and the bulk of his troubles set the example for all Southern India. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the State of Hyderabad was recognized under the Crown as the premier Indian state.

Among the small Mahratta states in Western India, where the intrigue of the Deccani Brahmin can never

refrain from activity if waters be troubled, there were serious outbreaks which required considerable activity by both British and Indian troops. These troubles were to some extent the aftermath of the wars of 1844 already outlined. The conspiracy was wide spread, but ended in outbreaks by Baba Sahib, the Rajah of Nurgond, who murdered his political agent, and hung his head over his fort gate, his fort being occupied on the arrival of troops and dismantled, and the Rajah duly captured and hung. A Brahmin, Bheem Rao succeeded in capturing a strong fortress, Kopal Droog, in the Raichur Doab, and thence tried to raise the countryside and the petty chiefs. He was ousted by a moveable column from Bellary. The young Rajah of Shorapore, who had been a ward of the Government during a long minority, was also deeply implicated, and attacked his political officer, who was rescued by a party of the Hyderabad Nizam's contingent. The young Prince, whose territory was subsidiary to the Nizam, while under arrest, shot himself, possibly, it was thought, by accident, and his state was confiscated. There was a mutiny of the troops stationed in the state of Kolhapore, in which the Rajah's brother was concerned, and considerable military measures against insurgents and mutineers necessary, though the chief himself was not inculpated. Brigadier G. Jacob in political and military command, ere long regained control. These troubles cannot be said to be of any importance, compared with general loyalty of the chiefs in this part of India.

Where nobles and princes did join the mutineers it was largely those who had been dispossessed, usually for good reason, or cherished some bitter grievance. The leading examples of this are of course the Nana, Dondu Punt, a Chitpawan Brahmin adopted by that Peshwa Baji Rao, who had fallen on his subsidiary force and his Resident in 1817. The grievance lay in the fact that his adopted father's allowance from the British Government was not continued

to him, though he had inherited the vast personal estate of Baji Rao. The other was the ex-Rani of Jhansi who had not been allowed to adopt an heir after her husband's death without issue.¹ The Nana perished no one knows where, but it was said, in the snows of the Himalayas though many stories of his subsequent appearances in the succeeding fifty years have been rife. His fate is one of the romantic mysteries of India. The Rani of Jhansi was killed by a British dragoon in a charge in which she was leading rebel horse. The British army that opposed her had much to say of her capabilities as a partisan leader.

We may therefore say that without doubt, with very few exceptions, and these doubtful, the Princes of India supported the East India Company, as the emanation of the as yet far distant Crown of England.

The Mutiny produced no change of any importance in the numbers of territories of the Princes.

THE ACTION OF NEPAL

Mention has already been made of the friendly relations that had arisen between the Company and Nepal after the treaty of peace in 1816. Since then nothing untoward had occurred. Nepal was an independent neighbour, united in sympathy with India to which her ruling races ethnologically belonged but outside the orbit of Company or Crown.

It has been explained how from the first enlistment of Gurkha prisoners, the first irregular Gurkha battalions of the Company's Army arose, and how Sir Charles Napier had brought one of them into the Line to replace a mutinous regiment.

During all these years, discussions and adjustment of frontier complaints there had often been, but the relation of friendship had continued without interruption. Military Service was popular among the subjects of that state and

¹ In her case alone was there any doubt of the wisdom of the refusal, p. 138.

those who returned took back the friendly feelings. With the outbreak of the Mutiny the kingdom looked on at first, with the same amazement as the rest of India. But it soon realized where the hand of friendship should be placed, and where also lay the gospel of expediency. The Star of the British was not going to fall to the horizon, and the Prime Minister and Commander-in-Chief, Jung Bahadur, offered a large force of Nepalese troops to help reconquer Oudh, and take the great rebel stronghold and magnet of Lucknow. To the number of 9000 came the valiant men of the Hills, and very effective they were in many of the subsidiary operations, as well as when they joined one of the columns that concentrated on Lucknow. Since then the number of Nepalese enlisted into the Indian Army has increased to twenty regular battalions besides those in the lesser forces and armed police.

This treaty of friendship that exists, in every way so desirable, resembles that which has always been desired with Afghanistan also.

CHAPTER IX

THE PRINCES UNDER THE CROWN (1859-1919)

The Princes under the Crown. The Mogul, the Crown, and Paramountcy. Lord Reading on Supremacy. The Machinery that deals with the Princes. Difficulties of the Past. The New Deal. Appendix: Lord Ellenborough's famous Note.

THE PRINCES UNDER THE CROWN

THE great feature that accompanied the fading of the East India Company so far as the States were concerned, was the declaration that in future there should be no Right-of-Lapse to the Crown. The Princes in the event of no direct heir should have the privilege of extending their custom and right of adoption, to their dynastic as well as their personal status, according to the custom of their particular race and faith. We need not describe further the methods of and rules governing adoption. They have several variants, as already mentioned. Politically the right and custom had many advantages, as settling the succession to a throne otherwise likely to be vacant. It also gave promise of security to the female portion of a deceased chief's household. In Hindu circles the eldest son, real or adopted, succeeds, but in Moslem circles, the custom varies, and has been allowed to vary. In many cases the ruler has nominated his heir from a favourite among his often numerous sons and thereby overlooking primogeniture. The Court intrigues involved therein have been legion.

In all Eastern countries from the Bosphorus to the Pacific the demise of the Crown, unless the succession of the rightfully born, adopted, or nominated heir, is accepted by the bulk of the men of influence in a State, may result in civil war, or usurpation. In the past indeed Europe has suffered from the same trouble. The adoption of an heir in a Hindu State, never undertaken without advice of priest and minister, has often prevented a 'Succession' struggle.

To the intense satisfaction of the Princes, Queen Victoria's Proclamation made the right and recognitions quite clear. Incidentally it drove another rivet into the half-century old acceptance of the inevitable "paramountcy" of the British Crown, whether directly exercised, or through the Agency of the Company's Governor-General.

In actual fact, the position otherwise was quite unchanged.

The Governor-General exercised such advisory and directive powers as 'paramountcy' involved, as before, through Agents to the Governor-General in the case of lesser States, direct through the "Resident" in the case of the larger ones. Under the Crown, except in very small States 'The Resident' remained, either taking his instructions direct from the Governor-General or from the 'Agent' as the case might be.

The coming of the direct control of the 'Crown,' coinciding with the suppression of the last embers of the local rebellion set alight by the military mutinies, enabled rewards for service of loyalty, and donatives of honour from the Crown as a matter of recognition and compliment, to interlock. The development of communications, scientific commercial advance, and of westernization now went on apace, all the more rapidly owing to the three years interruption, and owing to the military needs of the future. The Great Trunk railway connecting Calcutta with Lahore and Bombay, Bombay with Madras and Delhi, and Lahore with Kurachi, was now proceeded with, and treaties enabling them to traverse the Princes territories were soon framed.

The coming of the railways was to change the whole face of the country, and eventually to banish once and for all the age-old curse of seasonal famine. The capitals of the great states came into direct railway contact with the outer world, and in all cases some degree of accessibility was brought to even the remoter states of Central India. The march to modernity, even now happily for India, a limited modernity,

has, save perhaps in a few inaccessible and therefore contented localities, gone steadily forward.

The first problems after 1857-58-59 were the restoration of order in those states whose territories had caught the disease or who had been entered by warring or fugitive rebels. The states then settled down to a period of steady but not hurried development. The great states, Gwalior, Indore and the like lay between the Western Ports and the East and North. Through them it was necessary to trace the main railway communications from India. Each day the mail trains from Bombay to Madras, Calcutta or Delhi traverse Hyderabad, Mysore, Bhopal, Gwalior and Bhurtpore while the newer alternative route traverses portions of Rajputana and Indore.

As yet, while industries, mining, agriculture, and irrigation were developed, the position of the rulers remained as absolute sovereigns within their areas. The Residents were from time to time compelled to interfere with some of the actions of autocracy gone wrong, and now and again princes who abjured good works and refused all warnings and advice, were called on to abdicate, or else submit to a searching inquiry into their actions.

Lest anyone should be induced to believe that such demands by the paramount power are vexatious or uncalled for or a breach of treaty, it should be remembered that in untrammelled Eastern countries the remedy against unbearable despotism is mutiny, rebellion or palace murder. Against these fates the strong hand of Britain guarantees the incumbents of the Princes throne. Since the easement of the East is denied to the persecuted, it is absolutely incumbent on the paramount power to see justice done, and this too at times, with a strong hand. Three indeed of the principal potentates in the last few years, one well known in England have been so called on, and not one voice in India was raised against the regrettable necessity and justice of the action.

As the Victorian years rolled on, great schemes of many kinds were suggested to the Princes. Above all things were the British anxious to afford the young Princes and nobles such education and training as would fit them to rule in an expanding world. Princes' and Chiefs' colleges were founded. Young princes were given carefully selected British tutors to guard them against the countless evils that beset a young prince. For many years the harem, the mothers, wives, and betrothed, believed that this British influence was harmful and devoted intense efforts to hinder that influence. Especially was it hostile to any attempt to delay the early uxoriousness and chambering in which the East delights, and too often recognizes as a religious rule of life. Allurements a-hundredfold would be thrown in their way and young chiefs visiting their mothers would be bombarded with naked delight in the passages and chambers of the *anderun*.

The attempts indeed to bring up young chiefs in some chivalrous and high-minded rules of life that would compensate for the older discipline of the tented field and the rigours of campaigning, have in these earlier days, been fraught with such machinations that their unfolding would supply countless romances and adventures. Despite it all the failures have been few, and the generation of chiefs now passing, in their high-mindedness, their devotion to their states and to the Crown, have been largely due to those English gentlemen and Indian enthusiasts who essayed the task. The question of suitable education and up-bringing, and in which hemisphere, is still a matter for consideration. Too Western an education may bring a distaste for Eastern life.

THE MOGUL, THE CROWN AND PARAMOUNTCY

The legal position of the British in India, and of the Crown vis-à-vis the Princes, has often been discussed. These discussions have been referred to in an early chapter

as 'vacuous'—because they have no real value. The position of Great Britain has come by force of arms—but by force and arms against the oppressor and the disturber, eagerly supported by the farmer and the trader, the two great classes to whom 'peace is paramountcy'. The air may be cleared towards the Mogul story by some examination of terms.

It should be explained for those not familiar with the more intimate 'Mogul' story, that the House of Baber, was a Turkish House descended of Timur, of that branch known at Chagatai or Jagatai, from that son of Timur who succeeded to the province of that name in Turkestan; Baber it is true had some descent through his mother from the Mongol (of which Mogul is but an alternative form) World-compeller Genghis or Jhingis Khan. Thus the so called Moguls were Turks, but apparently adopted the description 'Mogul' because it was a name of fear, well calculated to frighten conquered folk by the old dread of the Mongol name. In India the Moguls are spoken of as Chagatai to this day. Many lesser Hindu and outcaste races who accepted Islam, disguise their origin and 'boost' their importance by calling themselves 'Mogul,' while in the Punjab Mogul tribes did actually settle and still know themselves as Moguls. It has been said that just as the Downland shepherd of Sussex still counts his sheep into their pents in Celtic, so round Delhi there are Mogul villagers who still call their sheep and goats with the cries of the Central Asia steppes, very different from those of the ordinary Indian goatherd.

But it may also be remarked, here again for the information of the ordinary reader, that Turk Mongol, Mogul, or Tartar, all mean the same thing, the steppe races of the almond eye or 'Mongol Fold', that may have been the brand set on the descendants of Cain. Tartar is perhaps the most correct designation for them all, and includes Huns, Manchus, Ottomans, Seljuks, Moguls and many



THE MAHARAJAH OF BIKANIR

A. C. Lovett

mand success in the general scramble for other people's good lands or women. They were free of their own sword to take up all the rights of the Mogul Empire and to resume if they wished all the powers and principalities within which the Mogul writ ever ran fairly. We have seen that this principle governed the annexation of the Punjab after the failure of attempts to maintain a Sikh state, we have seen the same compelling principle bring them to attempt the restoration of the Durani Empire, as the final arbiter. The same applied to straightening the run-away Mogul fief of Sind. We have seen them recognize the rights of the Mogul Governor of the Deccan, and accept the position as rulers within the Empire, of the pirate Mahratta Princes.

The paramountcy that has fallen on the British is absolute paramountcy, curbed only by the treaties signed with the rulers who acquiesced or sought protection, and with the revisions and sanads that we have granted to those rulers we have ourselves set up. Those treaties and conditions are over-riding, and Queen Victoria's Proclamation re-affirmed their inviolability and extended the hitherto not universally accepted right of adoption. † The only abrogating condition that the paramount power has insisted on over and above its treaties is the removal of the incumbent of a throne who misrules beyond the power of reform.) Then, the removal is of the incumbent, not the termination of the principality, is the principle. Hostility to or intrigue against the *Raj*,¹ however, is another matter, it is a breach of the treaty under which the state exists. Such action might equally result in mere removal or in the termination of a state's separate existence, as the Crown might decide. Such cases have practically never arisen at any rate, since the direct control of the Crown.

But there is one main point to remember. This paramountcy is not that of the Government of India, but

¹ The *Raj* means the 'rule', and above all the British Crown and its agents.

of the Crown and that by a *persona*, the Governor-General that presides not over the Government of India but over the Crown's relationship with the Princes. It is here that the trouble in 1935 has arisen, not yet clearly removed in the matter of Federalization but probably settled by the Secretary of State's memorandum, to be quoted later. The Princes in acceding to any Federal Scheme will not put themselves under a Federal Government save in accepted items. Under the Crown they will remain. Since they had doubts, it has now been promised them that the instrument of accession that they will be asked to sign shall be without exception on this point.¹

Let it once more be said, the objection that there was no cession of Empire to the British as the Caliphate came to the Sultan, is a valid one. It came to them by a right far more world-wide—the right of conquest fortified by the joyful acquiescence of all who were poor and oppressed, and the willing recognition of that paramountcy by all those qualified under the Empire to agree.

It may be reiterated that the real point lies in the proper exercise of that paramountcy so as to ensure the hearty co-operation and alliance of the Princes rather than an unwilling and aggrieved acquiescence. The policy of Governor-Generals and Secretaries of State in the past has not always been sufficiently understanding.

LORD READING ON SUPREMACY

So recent an utterance as that by Lord Reading in writing to His Highness the Nizam brings the question of the accepted definition of paramountcy up to date. It is contained with comments in the outline *The British Crown and the Indian States*. (An outline drawn up on behalf of the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes.) This valuable book contains remarkable letters on the whole

¹ The revised draft 'Instrument' is given in Appendix IV.

subject, written by great Viceroys and political agents from the Marquis Wellesley onwards. The comments in this book, trenchant and admirable though they are, may be taken *cum grano*, since they are somewhat designed to press one side of the argument at the time when ill-informed politicians in their country seemed to be inclined to bring the States into subordination to an Indian Parliament.

Listen to His Excellency Lord Reading, ex-Chief Justice of England, writing to the Premier Prince of India—the only relict of Mogul Dominion, and our old and ancient ally and co-adjutor! He asserts that the Supremacy of the British Government in India “is not based upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of them . . . it is the right and privilege of the Paramount Power to decide all disputes that may arise between States or between one of the States and itself¹ and even though a Court of arbitration may be appointed in certain cases, its function is merely to offer independent advice to the Government of India, with whom the decision rests.” The only exception that can be taken here is to the term ‘Government of India’ as misleading unless we read it to mean, the ‘Governor-General in pursuance of functions delegated by the Crown.’

The comment on Lord Reading’s up-to-date yet ancient dictum, in *The British Crown and the Indian States* is “Lord Reading further based upon the Supremacy of the British Crown a general claim to the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the States, limited at the sole discretion of the Crown to certain cases.”

That whether you like it, or whether you don’t, is the meaning of paramountcy or supremacy—paramountcy backed by the unassailable “forty pounder train”. It is the meaning of Supremacy all the world over from Stalin to the Holy Father. It is infallible by right of *force-majeur*. On the other hand, and it is also an *over-riding* ‘other hand’, the sweet reason of

¹ In the case of 55 States, this is actually specified as an item.

the Crown must be actuated and modulated by adherence to agreements, by justice and by understanding, otherwise, at the end, no Crown !

In the Federation of India, the complete Paramountcy of the Crown, through the Governor-General and not through the Federal Government, will be the great safeguard of the Prince's position, and privileges.

For wisdom and instruction read the pronouncements of the Marquess Wellesley, of Lord Metcalfe of Malcolm and Munro, and of the Marquess Hastings, for the way in which one man of honour must treat another, read Lord Minto ; for hard fact digest Lord Reading.¹ It was King James I. who said " No Bishop, no anointed King.", it is Lord Reading who has said " no supreme Crown no safe Prince."

THE MACHINERY THAT DEALS WITH THE PRINCES

In Chapter I. in opening the story of the Princes, the position of the Viceroy has been briefly referred to as also the machinery by which every day contact with them has been maintained. The Political Department, as the machine is called, is one of the most famous branches of the Indian administration, and has a long career not always uniformly successful, for it ' blotted its copybook ' badly in its misjudging a not altogether hopeless Afghan situation in 1841 and '42. It also achieved the intense dislike of the Army because it was allowed to over-ride and often humiliate the forces on whom its success and its missions depended. That state of things has passed away long ago, and was indeed exaggerated in the aftermath of the Afghan drama. Both before and after that period it has contained some of the most famous personalities that ever served India and their country. The key-note of their conduct of affairs has been judgement and sympathy for the states to

¹ See the minute of Lord Ellenborough written in 1843 at the time of the Gwalior coup d'état, which must have fortified Lord Reading. It is given at the end of this chapter.

which its members have been accredited, a sympathy that often *more-Anglico* has passed to identification with the Princes' interests and grievances.

This Department as modelled after 1859 is drawn, as in earlier days, from both the civil and military services of India, and Sir William Barton assures us that in the past that entry was largely secured by interest and nepotism. In the peculiar conditions of this service however, nepotism, if it stands for 'family connection' is about the very best manner of recruitment, provided the candidate has a sufficiency of brains and character. The succession of the sons and the grandsons of men whose names are household words in India is, in all the services, the secret that has made the British soldier and civilian so acceptable. In the work with the Princes, where tradition stands for so much, the continuity of family service has been a very great asset.

The Department of which the Viceroy himself is the head, consists of a large and important bureau at the centre of Government with its tentacles and representatives spread among the states all over this vast continent. It also provides the personnel of the service that deals with the border tribes not only along the whole of the North-Western Frontiers but on the Eastern and North-Eastern ones as well.

We may with advantage, glance at the work of this department, from the British Peace, that is to say 1818 onwards, a period of well over a century.

When that peace was established, the Department was concerned in seeing that the States carried out those treaties, and in assisting them to do so, but also up to the days of the Mutiny, largely concerned in seeing that the larger states did not suffer from any leanings to the good old days of uproar, and anti-British policy. The story of the Gwalior Army in 1843 just related, is evidence of a good deal that went on behind the scenes. In Hyderabad too, despite a considerable Contingent, as well as the subsidiary British

force, there was constant trouble in the wilder districts, and the Arab population and migration from Hydramaut was a matter of general apprehension. The armies of the great states were still considerable, and as already mentioned, armaments in those days were all much the same, while in weight of metal the states artillery far outmatched the more mobile guns of the Company. These matters, with the question of the Sikhs, kept the Foreign Department more than active.

After the Mutiny the scene changed. Rifled guns and firearms had arrived, the European garrison of India was doubled, and the loyal attitude of the Princes changed the whole tenour of political action. Before the assumption of the Crown even, the forceful progressive Lord Dalhousie was pressing on India's notice the modernizing ways of science, and he was already casting his eyes on the method of life in the Princes' States. He would have all India join in the march of progress.

After the Mutiny, when the definite Political Department of to-day was inaugurated, we can see great changes in the more accessible states, as railways, irrigation and other modernities arose, and we can see the Residents taking a hand in stimulating Princes to go forward in the amelioration of conditions that their subjects might well look for, as well as participation in these modern advantages.

Though the conditions of paramountcy were really held, as related, to mean leaving the Princes alone within their own domains, yet the very conditions of modern life forbade this. It was almost impossible to refrain from interference in such matters as trunk railways, opium policy, posts and telegraphs, ports and the like, especially such matters as touch the outer world, viz. the opium trade, drug traffic, and plague precautions. The charges therefore of those who complain bitterly at the infringement of the spirit of the treaties, is not, so far as such items are concerned, reasonable in a world that is developing so fast.

Any restriction is but similar in principle to those many restrictions and interferences with old-fashioned liberty that close quarters and rapid movement have inflicted on the West.

What, however, is a legitimate grievance is any attempt to treat the states as if *their heads* were merely feudal chiefs. Sir William Barton has traced this carefully enough when he describes the development of the new Political Department into what, at one time, threatened to be meticulous and hide-bound bureaucracy attempting to cabin these five-hundred odd multi-hued states into one system. It is of course, obvious that this mass of states as the requirements of life developed must need handling with some uniformity of system in their various, nay their countless points of contact with the British Government, Imperial and Provincial. The first thing needed was a complete record of treaties and *sannads* so compiled as to be readily accessible. This was compiled in the early days of the Crown, and Sir Lewis Tupper, whom Sir William terms 'The High Priest of the Department,' meaning the arch-originator of bureaucracy, compiled a very elaborate 'treatment-book' ¹ giving chapter and verse for the handling of every sort of question and quandary as regards the states. Now such a compilation in reason is essential. Without it the matter cannot be tackled. Without it requests would be refused one day and granted the next without the least reason for differentiation, save the height of the barometer. That is a commonplace of all administration which has to decide on matters not governed by law. Such a compilation is almost the same as our judge-made law, that a good lawyer and a good judge must know by heart. But officials are officials, and unless they are periodically condemned to hold their own babies and eat their own pudding, the tendency is to get hopelessly hide-bound. Apparently

¹ A 'secret' book too, though none the worse, in the circumstances, for that.

this *magnum opus* of Sir Lewis, added to the mental attitude of several of the Governor-Generals, and the theory, not without good reason by any means in earlier days, that the people were happier and more prosperous in British India, induced a tendency towards the whittling away of the power and initiative of the Princes. (It at times went too far, and King Edward VII when, as Prince of Wales, he visited India, wrote to the Queen of the attitude that he thought he noticed in the Residents, to treat the Princes, to whose court they were accredited, as inferior show-pieces.)

It is only fair to say that such an attitude cannot have been general, for many of the Residents at all times, were far-seeing sympathetic statesmen and gentlemen. But however that may be, it is by general consent, admitted that the Secretariat of the Department for years was becoming more and more arbitrary and autocratic. The Princes themselves were unhappy and restless, feeling themselves in a cleft stick, especially when the use of the term feudal and feudatory came into general use in official documents and minutes. The word 'feudatory' is a useful one, and as long as it is employed to imply a measure of subordinacy and general paramountcy is permissible enough. When it comes to be used in any legal or historical sense of the word, it is, except in the case of a few states specially created by ourselves, quite inadmissible.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE PAST

On the other hand, there is also a definite back to the picture. In earlier days the States in some cases were hopelessly and inhumanly backward, misgoverned, bankrupt, seditious in that some secretly looked for a return of the old days, inclined to combine against the British, rejoicing when our arms were in trouble, intrigued over the succession, grossly in the hands of favourites of most dubious character, lost by the enervation of peace to evil

and undignified excesses,—their wise and proper treatment was a difficult problem.

The financial misrule, in some cases, has in the past been unbelievable, and only by the rigorous reform by some deputed British officer, strongly supported by the Resident, has a State and its ruler been saved. Palace scandals have been indescribable. The very generations of the mighty Holkar may be cited as some example. The great free-lance soldier Mulhar Rao of Hol, died in 1765. His son was dead, his grandson was insane. His mother, Ahalya Bhai acted as regent and on the young man's premature death, ruled in his stead. Her régime of strength and wisdom lasted many years; but she died in 1795. The wild erratic Holkar who fought Lord Lake in 1804, was the illegitimate son of Ahalya Bhai's general, and not even a member of the ruling family. He drank himself to death. "His mistress Tulsi Bhai adopted the illegitimate son of another mistress of the late Holkar, after which Tulsi Bhai and her paramour ruled Indore" till beheaded in 1817. So recently as not to be worth quoting, the ruling Holkar elected to resign his throne, rather than submit to an enquiry. A dancing girl was the leading factor.

The story of the Holkars is interesting as showing how undesirable adoption will make matters worse; origins will out. It is but right to note that the bulk of the Princes greatly resent the misdemeanours of one of their order.

The abnormal happenings which British officers have experienced, when appointed by rulers in the past to posts in a State, are related in amusing detail by Sir William Barton, and we are obliged to admit, that however unpopular the supervision by Residents has been, there was considerable basic excuse.

Further, were the secret annals of the Political Department generally known, it would be equally evident how serious in years gone by, have been some of the underground movements, even since the Mutiny, that have emanated

from certain States. It is probable, however, that such conditions were inevitable, in the right ordering of the stupendous heritage and responsibility which had devolved on Great Britain.

We may skip over the intervening years, and come to the Consulate of the great Lord Curzon, a man of the mental power and acumen of his famous predecessor Lord Dalhousie. Lord Curzon brought with him a knowledge of the East that in the days of pre-mutiny travel was almost impossible for a statesman to acquire. He brought also, as did Dalhousie, a desire to shake up India and the administration to a realization that it was not keeping a co-ordinated pace with the vast moves of the world. Much more was needed to be done in India, and still more probably in the Princes' States. Never sparing himself, he did not spare others, and a spate of new measures descended. Centralization rather than devolution was the order of the day. It may be said very rightly that when all the strings are crossed, one man alone can unravel them, before devolution can take place. After all, the five or seven years of a Viceroy's reign are little enough to count by in the East. Lord Curzon was the biggest thing that had come to India since Akbar, although it is now the fashion to dwell on his failures rather than his portentous successes. It is rarely given to great men to combine all the qualities, and we find this Boanerges, to whom, though frail in physique, the twenty-four hours of a day were never enough, failing signally in that tact, which above all in India is as necessary as strength.

As he wanted to drive, indeed, as he did drive, India, so he tried to drive the Princes. The Resident and Agents took some of their cues from him, and Princes' India was by no means happy. He spoke to the Princes rightly enough, as "my colleagues," but treated them often enough as "my officials". Much that he did to perturb them had fair enough basis. His much-criticized order that no

Princes should go to Europe without his leave, unpardonable though it was, had plenty of cause. None knew better than he the danger of absentee-ism, the absentee-ism that had ruined Ireland. None knew better the dazzling lure that London, Paris, and Vienna had for wealthy Indians, or how they could be traded on by unscrupulous jewellers and merchants. Further, since even now few Princes have a privy purse, their lavish over-generous nature, and intoxication of unwonted wonders, meant unaudited dipping into the public money bags. None knew better, too, that as yet the system of education and up-bringing of the modern Princes, had not yet been long enough at work to make uncontrolled freedom desirable. The far more recent scandals of Mr. A. serve to illustrate his point. Yet to issue such orders was to condemn his sense of values. Even paramountcy and supremacy have their limits. So his Excellency 'slipped up,' and it has been accounted against him. Unfortunately, "the evil that men do lives after them," at any rate in memory, "the good is oft interred with their bones."

His reign closed the period of undue surveillance on the doing of the Princes.

THE NEW DEAL

With the departure of Lord Curzon,¹ came the wise, courtly, considerate yet determined Lord Minto, when commenced what is known as the Morley² Minto régime. In that most charming book which Lady Minto has published, *Morley-Minto*, we read very clearly of Minto's endeavours to obliterate the bad taste of some sides of Lord Curzon's attitude towards the Princes, and the reflection of that attitude not unnaturally cast on the Political Depart-

¹ Sir William Barton tells the story of one chief deposed for misrule by Curzon, telegraphing on the latter's recall "I deposed greet you deposed." Their Highnesses have always a keen sense of humour.

² Mr. Morley—later Lord Morley—being Secretary of State for India.

ment. To those who know the whole story, it may be said that taken out of their context, Lord Curzon's doings are a little over-coloured, but there is no doubt that the Princes were perturbed, ruffled, and apprehensive.

The innate sympathy and courtesy of a nobleman of old family, and his considerate action soon restored confidence. Both Viceroy and Secretary of State, were agreed that the Princes must run their own States and be let alone as much as possible. Unfortunately the pendulum swung a little too far, and some of the untoward happenings of the last few years, would have been avoided and important Princes saved, had the Residents been allowed to take a stronger hand, in of course, the right way. Two or three important chiefs are now in exile who *might* well have been saved. Protection against rebellion does entail some measure of suitable interference from the 'Protector', as already said.

However that may be, the Minto régime produced that outlook and frame of mind which brought the Princes out so staunchly and gloriously on the side of the King and his Empire in the World War. To the Princes it is Lord Minto, and his successor Lord Hardinge, who bulk greatest in their minds, till we come to the ever-memorable days of the super-experienced Lord Willingdon.

With the march of time under two remarkable Viceroys, came a yearly increasing measure of advance in the States, in public works, in justice, and the borrowing of European and Indian officers of high training to assist. Canals, electrification, opening up of mineral and forest resources, crowded on one another in the more important States.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX

EXTRACT FROM LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S MINUTE OF
NOVEMBER 1ST, 1843, ON 'PARAMOUNTCY'

THE following extracts from Lord Ellenborough's minute written at the time of the *coup d'état* at Gwalior preceding the outbreak of the Army, are important. This paper has always been considered one of the most important of the earlier pronouncements.

"The British Government has now for many years, assumed the rights and performed the obligation of the paramount Power of India, within the Sutledj (*sic*). It is impossible therefore to take a partial and insulated view of our relations with the State of Gwalior, the most important to which our system applies.

Any relaxation of our system with respect to that State could not fail to be felt in every part of India, affecting our position with regard to all the other States of Hindustan.

It matters not whether our position as the paramount and controlling Power has been forced upon us by circumstance, or has been the settled object of our arms and policy. We of the present day must maintain what we find established, for to recede from that position once acquired, would be to draw upon ourselves the hostility of many States, and to shake the confidence of all in the continuance of our military preponderance, by which alone all we have won can be preserved.

Nor, while by receding from that position, we endangered our own existence, should we fail at the same time, to bring upon all the States now dependent on us the most afflicting calamities. The withdrawal of our restraining hand, would let loose all the elements of confusion. Redress for the daily occurring grievances of the several States against each other would still be sought, not from the superintending justice of the British Government, but from the armed reprisals of the injured, and bad ambition, availing itself of the love of plunder and of war, which pervades so large a portion of the population of India would again expose to devastation countries which under our protection, have enjoyed many of the advantages of peace.

To maintain therefore unimpaired, the position we now hold, is a

duty, not to ourselves alone but to humanity. The adoption of new views of policy, weakness under the name of moderation, and pusillanimity under that of forbearance, would not avert from our own subjects, and from our own territories, the evils we let loose upon India; and the only result of false measures would be to remove the scene of a contest, altogether inevitable, from Gwalior to Allahabad, there to be carried on with diminished force a disheartened army and a disaffected people. . . .”

, THE FORCES MAINTAINED BY THE PRINCES

The Old Story of the State Forces. The Contingents. The Imperial Service Troops. The Peculiar Conditions of Kashmir. Defence Liability under a Federation. The Princes in the World War.

THE OLD MILITARY STORY

THE forces with which the English had to contend in the days of expansion and peace-making in India, were those of ancient India in mail with lance and scimitar mingled with legions trained after the manner of the West. British and foreign adventurers, runaway seamen, refugee Royalist officers from France and Indians trained in the English and French corps were the teachers and leaders. The famous Ibrahim Khan Gardi who brought his trained battalions from the Deccan to the disaster of Panipat (1761) was so called because he had his training in the French 'guards' at Hyderabad.

Towards the latter part of the eighteenth century the warring Indian Princes had realized the value of the serried ranks and disciplined units, just as earlier they had employed European artillerymen to handle the great guns that they had also copied and developed from Europe.

Adventurers who had seized a fortress and amassed treasure, raised units of their own to hire to the highest bidder, and the story of George Thomas of Hansi, of the Chevalier Dudrenac, of Sombre or Somru, who was Walter Reinhardt, and a dozen others, are well known. There were hundreds of lesser stars on the Eastern free-lance firmament, and it has already been related how Sindhia had a vast Westernized service with many Europeans and men of mixed blood, a cadet service, and generally a highly organized force and military system, built and controlled by the Count de Boigne. Such armies fought each other during the great anarchy that has been described, and at Poona early in the nineteenth century there were Britons fighting on both sides in the battle near the city between

the forces of Sindhia and Holkar. But when the Marquess Wellesley began his war of paramountcy, having, as described, realized that it was a life and death matter of Britons or Mahrattas, he called on all Britons in the Mahratta services to quit, which they did, leaving the field to the organized units and a few French officers of no great merit. Some of those who left came to the British service, notably old James Skinner, famous as '*Sikunder*' or 'fortunate'. He raised his Yellow Boys from men he brought, yellow because he, the son of a Company's officer and a Rajputni, wore a dragoon helmet and a yellow dragoon laced jacket, and clothed his men the same colour. King George V was Colonel-in-Chief of Skinner's Horse which remains to this day, and still wear the yellow full dress.

One by one the western model armies and their horde of horse and musqueteers on the Indian model that marched with them, fell before Lake and Arthur Wellesley in 1803, and before Malcolm and Hislop in 1817. The States kept their armies on lesser lines, after the British Peace, and Europeans and half-bloods still served therein, Sindhia's Army and that of the Nizam remaining especially powerful. What befell the Gwalior Army still full of the de Boigne tradition, because it got too big for its boots, in 1843, has been told. It has also been told how the Westernized Army of a generation later, that of Runjhith Singh turned Soviet and went down before the British bayonets after the fiercest of struggles.

From 1818 onward, save for the Gwalior business aforesaid, and the Sikh army's outbreak, the forces of the States dwelt in peace for the most part ill-organized, poorly and irregularly paid, and a source of danger to themselves, to their rulers, and to the British Peace. Their principal advantage was that they kept the martial races and adventurer colonies from turning bandit, and did find some sustenance for a class that was in many ways the backbone of the States. In 1857 these troops followed varying courses, but where the

men were the subjects of the ruler, they for the most part followed their rulers' lead, as distinct from the behaviour of the Contingents to be described further.

Without active service, without such stimulant, and with little or no discipline, these forces remained in one form or another till very modern times. But the 'budget-wudget' in their polyglot jargon, was in constant clash with the claims of the state treasury for roads and irrigation works and the increasing demands of modern developments. The princes themselves not unnaturally clung to their armies as signs of prestige and a form of patronage for their clansmen, and the Government of India shrank from pressing for drastic reductions in what was too often but rag-tag and bobtail living on traditions of long past chivalry. Regiments of 'The Sun' of 'Victory', batteries of 'The Lightning' rusted out in dull peace with no enemy for hundreds of miles.

Before we can see how a remedy came about, we might glance again at the matter of the 'Contingents' already referred to in various parts of the Princes' story.

Although the years of peace brought little but deterioration, with no enemy to fight unless some turn of fate should destroy the Company's Ikhbal (fortune), there was one exception. After the destruction of the Sikh Army, Gulab Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, took with him to the mountains his unshaken army, organized like that of his master Runjhīt Singh, on Western lines, and it found itself on the outer frontier of India. It fought far into the Himalayas and established its ruler as suzerain of Hunza, of Chilas, of Chitral and all the little Khanates under the Karakorum and the wall of the Pamirs. It sent a somewhat ramshackle force to Delhi in '57, but it cast great guns and clothed itself in sugar-loaf grenadier caps, and in French casque and cuirass from Lille, and kept up a military tradition. It finally grew weary till once again it was taken in hand and made efficient after running to seed through

neglect and bad administration. The story of this army is quite different from that of the other States of India. The other armies rotted for want of frontier, but the Jammu and Kashmir Army found itself called on later to take on what was practically, permanent Imperial liability.

THE OLD CONTINGENTS

The Marquess Wellesley's Subsidiary System has been described, how he insisted that each great chief should receive and pay for a British force to protect it in those times of hostile neighbours, and should also maintain a Contingent of its own troops trained by British officers to help its ally and protector, the Company. It was a system of merit in view of the times and all that had happened. Even after the Peace, the loom of an Afghan invasion still called for the contribution to mutual defence of the Contingents.

In most cases a subsidiary force was paid for by assignment of territory to furnish land revenue, while the Contingents were financed in various ways. The principal Contingents were those of the Nizam and Sindhia, both looked upon by the British officer of those days as *corps d'élite* and highly desirable services. The Gwalior Contingent was a magnificent force. There were lesser contingents in many states, Bhopal, Kotah, etc. But one of the ruling factors in Indian military matters is that many men are by no sort of means ever fit to bear arms. The martial races are a very small portion of the millions of India. Therefore, some States could not produce soldiers and always employed mercenaries. Further since the Bengal officer thought nothing to be compared with his be-whiskered Rajputs and Brahmins from Oudh, the Gwalior Contingent and those adjacent, enlisted largely men from that kingdom. Being homogeneous with the Bengal Army, they followed that army into mutiny rather than the lead of the sovereign who

paid them.¹ This condition is a commanding one in the policy of State forces to-day.

Alas ! Because the Contingents had a British brigadier, and several British officers, they lost touch with the rulers, who hardly regarded them as their own troops, but in those days all idea of military efficiency had faded from the State 'regular' armies, to an extent no British officer could stomach. They took entire control of the Contingents, therefore, and paid for efficiency by losing touch.

The Hyderabad Contingent, as already related, did remain for the most part staunch, and served right well in the mutinies, only to disappear when the hand of Lord Kitchener and his advisers re-organized the Indian military system.

Except for this Contingent, that class of soldiery ceased after '57, though the expensive but ramshackle State forces armed with Brown Bess and percussion musket remained, an anachronism in the land and an expensive form of tax-collector in the wilder states. The Hyderabad Contingent, however, because there were not enough worth-while men in the Deccan, had often to go further afield for its recruits.

The foregoing retrospect clears the way for understanding the Princes' Forces of to-day.

THE IMPERIAL SERVICE TROOPS

The treaties with the States had many varying conditions as regards military assistance to the Government of India. As said, some gave Contingents and had to pay for it. Some gave land in lieu of any contribution, some furnished small Contingents and units for local service and some had liability when called on to send troops to certain places. During the Afghan War of 1878-80 States offered troops or were called to fulfill their obligations, and we find a

¹ In fact it has been said that the 'Contingents' other than that at Hyderabad, were but localized portions of the Bengal Army.



THE JODHPUR LANCER



A. C. Lowitt

IMPERIAL SERVICE TROOPS 1912 (AT THE TIME OF KING GEORGE'S CORONATION)

Sikh General from Patiala with Sikh troops holding the long line of the Kurram route from Kohat, by which Sir Frederick Roberts had advanced on Kabul, a very valuable contribution to a difficult problem.

It was not till 1885 that the question of the modern liability of the States, as compared with their specific treaty obligations, which referred to conditions long since past, began to assume a practical aspect. In that year occurred the still-remembered excitement of the 'Penjdeh incident', the entirely unnecessary attack by Russian troops on an Afghan detachment while the actual frontier between them was being discussed. The conditions which Lord Lytton and Lord Dufferin had deemed so necessary to guard against, encroachment by Russia on Afghanistan, and an Anglo-Russian war, seemed about to supervene. Our pledges and our interests both demanded the defence of Afghanistan. Half the army in India was being mobilized on the Quetta frontier and Sir Frederick Roberts, then the Commander-in-Chief in Madras, proceeded to take up the command. India was stirred and the enthusiasm and loyalty of the States led them to make offers of assistance in money, material, and men. The lead of the larger States was followed by all in some form. As the crisis passed away it was obvious that the share that the States should fairly be asked to take in the defence of India needed considering, apart from the conditions of the old treaties. In a few words the policy took the form of encouraging those States, which had material of serious military value to offer to prepare and equip a portion of their armed forces already described, so as to take their places beside British troops. The actual effect of this was somewhat staggering for the Princes, in that it meant an annual charge in lieu of the lump sum offers that they had made in 1885. There was no great harm in this, provided that the contingents thus to be maintained were not too numerous for the resources of the States in question. Eventually, these contingents took

form, by the coming into being of a re-formed portion of the State forces to be known as 'The Imperial Service Troops', i.e., the troops held for the support of the Imperial interests. The fire-arms were to be furnished by the British Government, the equipment was to be paid for by the 'Durbars', to use the current phrase for the government of a State.

Great care was taken that these troops should be the real State troops and not resemble the old Contingents of foreign mercenaries. They were with the exception of certain specified races and units, to be the subjects of the Prince, and actuated by loyalty to him. It was hoped, incidentally, that these troops would furnish interesting and more active employment for young nobles and gentry to whom the life within the State might fail in affording a career, and to a certain extent it had these results. Since the formation of these troops, usually from existing units, meant an increased expenditure, the Princes were urged to reduce the rest of their forces maintaining only some pet formation as ceremonial troops, or those needed in the wilder states to assist their police. This meant that in many cases some of the less reliable troops already referred to were abolished.

The training and supervision of the new Imperial Service Troops was to be carried out by deputed British officers, usually not resident, or if residing only acting as inspectors, and known as Inspecting or Assistant Inspecting Officers. With the Government of India, not under, although in close touch with Army Headquarters, was an Inspector General, and the Inspecting Officers formed his staff. The officers to hold these appointments were very carefully selected, men famed for manners and tact as well as soldierly knowledge. Almost without exception were they *persona grata* in the States with the rulers, the Residents, and the troops. Remarkable in many ways was the success obtained, though the Princes were at times staggered at

the amount of activity, the financial demands, and, without interference, the uncovering of their affairs, that the measures involved. The existence of these troops did not involve the liability to be summoned by the Government of India in so many words. But it soon became the custom, the vogue, to offer troops on all occasions, even on the lesser ones where no sort of liability existed. Soldiers who are worthy of the name want to go a-soldiering, and it was highly desirable for the whole policy, for the stimulation of the men, and for the general solidarity of the fighting races, that these offers should be accepted. Imperial Service Troops shared in the repression of the great Frontier outbreak of 1897-98, in the Chitral campaigns of 1895, in the China War of 1901, and on many another occasion. In the South African War in which the combatant employment of any Indian troops was ruled out, the States sent horses and troopers in remount charge. In the World War 26,000 Indian State troops served out of India on the various fronts, as will be related, and many more took garrison duty on the frontiers to relieve Indian Army troops from overseas.

During the years between 1885 and 1914, much water had run under the Imperial Service bridges. States at times felt there was unexpressed but definite compulsion to offer to maintain such troops for this force, while States who had little fighting material were asked to furnish transport corps and the like ; a most valuable component be it said. But speaking generally, so long as the total of these special troops was not placed too high, the Princes or the Durbars were content. One rift, however, did gradually grow ; the difference between the Imperial Service Troops and the rest of the State troops, wise enough at the first inception, became irksome and the inferiority complex, which worked both ways, undesirable. Unavoidably, despite the fact that the convention that the Imperial Service Troops belonged to the State was never violated, the needs

of military training grew greater as war became a more serious proposition, and the training programme and state functions often clashed. The striking of units off duty to prepare sweetmeats for a festival, or an order to parade in clean mufti so that the ruler and his friends should go down the ranks and squirt coloured mixture from a garden pump on the occasion of a great Hindu festival, while in entire accordance with Eastern custom, sense of fitness, and merry-making, did trench on the modern military spirit. In fact, in some States the rulers identified themselves more with their 'regulars', as units they could call their own, and sometimes cold-shouldered the Imperial Service Troops.

When the World War was over the desire of Army Headquarters to provide against another Afghan invasion or a Soviet madness, by developing all available forces, coincided with a desire of the Princes to make all their forces one again. The Imperial Service Troops thus disappeared as such and all the units of the State Forces became equal, all given modern training and all liable to be employed if the rulers offered them or the Paramount summoned them. Something more definite indeed than an offer became understood and the Army authorities began to take count of them for a major case such as the defence of India. Nor would such be objected to in the new pattern. Further, such an arrangement buried the last sign of a now dead but long justified apprehension of any danger from the Armies of the States, which the memory of the Gwalior and Sikh Wars, as well as the warnings of 1857, had left for many decades.

It is but right to close this résumé by dwelling again on the wisdom, tact, and camaraderie of that band of brothers, the Inspecting Officers, for the attitude of friendship and confidence towards them of the Princes, or the military heads of the States' Armies, and for the confidence given by the officers and men of the troops themselves.

THE PECULIAR CONDITIONS OF THE KASHMIR FRONTIER

In referring to the old States' Armies, the peculiar frontier condition of the then newly formed State of Jammu and Kashmir, created by Great Britain from the Sikh and Afghan *débris*, has been referred to. The peculiarity apart from the unusual story of its formation lay in its presence on the outer frontier of India while all the other States lay far within.

The large adventurer-trained and western-modelled army of Gulab Singh of the forties, which had escaped the *débâcle* of Sobraon, had expended itself in acquiring control of the khanates about the mountain portion of the Indus. Since the throne of Shiva, and the shrines and monasteries of Indian Buddhism lay there, the troops of Jammu, largely Rajput, had every right there to roam, even though some of the small Khans claimed descent from Alexander, or paid religious reverence to the Agha Khan. The times of peace, however, and incompetent maintenance, had brought the Jammu and Kashmir Army somewhat low, and in the Gilgit area beyond the Kashmir passes, disaster had mingled with the tradition of victory, for there were some kittle cattle in the trans-Indus to deal with. But harried, or successful, this Army, Dogra, with some proportion of Gurkha mercenaries born of an earlier story, was an army that had to fight.

The inception of the Imperial Service System coincided more or less with a sudden blossoming into importance of the *Pamirs, and the line of the Hindu Kush*. The grey-coat adventurer forces of Russia, foiled in any advance in the Herat direction, were overlapping the flanks and trickling over the great passes that led to India through Kashmir. Russian gold was appearing in the bazaars, Russian colonels and cossacks began speering, and led parties to Chitral and towards Hunza and Nagar over the Dorah, the Baroghil, and the Killik passes, not practical

military routes, but channels by which rumour and intrigue could do much harm.

It was desirable that Kashmir's control over her more distant tributaries should be rather more definite, and the Gilgit garrison more effective. The British Agency at Gilgit, in abeyance for many years, was revived. A British officer of distinction was appointed there, and some British army officers were lent to the Agency to train the Kashmir troops. Not only was the Russian trickle-way to be blocked, but the robber Khanjutis in Hunza needed a lesson since the trade routes were being disturbed, for where the Russ poked his nose rumour and propaganda was sure to be busy. There followed the brilliant Hunza Campaign almost on the roof of the world. The Kashmir troops followed British officers as heartily as the few British Indian sepoys available. Nilt was stormed under sensational circumstances and incredible heights climbed. The Jammu and Kashmir Army was on the map anew. Two mountain batteries, six battalions and a regiment of cavalry were reconstructed as Imperial Troops, of whom half of all save the cavalry would serve in Gilgit under a Dogra general, trained, and if need be, led by assistant inspecting officers, as those on duty in the Gilgit Agency were now termed. Then followed the astounding Chitral drama, still so well known, in which the Jammu and Kashmir Army won more renown, taking part in the defence of Chitral and Kelly's famous march.

It was a unique position, and save that the expenses of this Frontier army were said to be more than a fair charge in their entirety on the Kashmir revenues, all was well. The ruler of Kashmir was then believed to have intrigued with Russia, but it was subsequently accepted that intrigue had forged the evidence. It resulted in interference by the Paramount Power, His Highness for a while being removed from control and a council of regency established till a gradual restoration was staged. That is a story,

however, outside the military one. From those days onwards the Kashmir troops, who could not, save for a few Afghan and Sikh colonists, find a fit soldier from all the thews and muscles of the Kashmiri, grew from strength to strength. Its Imperial Service contingent was reduced to a more reasonable size as peace and order on the passes spread.

But the fact remains that then and now, the Jammu and Kashmir Rajput Army did and still does form a portion of the frontier defences of India. Not only was its frontier trans-Indus, for on many occasions this country, which also marches with the Black Mountain, has sent its troops to join the British Army in their operations from 1868 onwards. "*Jab Alai phunka*", "When Alai was burnt", was long a tradition among the older men. It had before that made the gesture already described of marching to Delhi in 1857—with Dick 'Laarence'.

DEFENCE LIABILITY UNDER A FEDERATION

In the study of the machinery and finance that was to occur later under our scheme of Federation, the share that the Princes should take in India's defence would obviously arise. Though the great States have taken more than their share at times, others have by force of circumstances, want of men who could shoulder a pike, and other reasons, not borne the share of all human peoples in their own defence. In 1932 a Commission was appointed to study the matter, and as might be expected, was plunged into a sea that was far larger than it dreamed of. All the liabilities of a century and more ago and all the old treaties were trotted out, fairly enough, and it was found that many States taking into account the territories or revenues surrendered when they entered into the British peace, to meet this very matter of the cost of their defence, showed that heavy contributions had already been made. It was,

of course, known that a great many States from time immemorial produced no men fit to say boo to a goose. The rulers were descended from conquering and over-running races. They protected themselves in the days of the Anarchy by hiring outsiders, Arabs, Mekranis, Afghans, Hindustanis, etc., and save to an extent that these latter had settled, and generally speaking, married locally, had no indigenous material. Such settlers mostly failed to transmit their martial characteristics further than at most a generation, a result to which no doubt the warmer climate and the malarial germ had contributed.

Some idea of what this enquiry brought to the surface, though not of course new to the records, will be obtained from the following few items.

Baroda, the Gaikwar's State, that ruler whose golden jubilee has just been celebrated, is that Mahratta State which was rescued and protected from Holkar and the Peshwa, and did not assist the attempts of the Mahrattas in 1803 or 1817 to dispute the hegemony of India with the British. The ruler accepted a subsidiary force for his protection, and on condition of being protected and shielded from Mulhar Rao Holkar, ceded territories for its support. In 1805 the subsidiary force was increased and further territories, bringing up the revenues to close on twelve lakhs of rupees, were set aside for its support, increased in 1818 to the equivalent of another lakh and three-quarters. After the doings of 1817, the subsidiary force was again increased, and the Gaikwar ceded all the rights he had acquired in the farm of the Peshwa's territories yielding twelve and a half lakhs more. In 1833 lands yielding another fifteen lakhs were handed over, but restored on the Gaikwar agreeing to deposit a crore (one hundred lakhs) with Government. In 1839 another district was ceded worth over seven lakhs, used for the maintenance of the Gujarat Irregular Horse, needed by the disorders of the time. In 1842 the treaty of 1817 was revised and the new agreement

provided for a payment of three lakhs for the Irregular Horse and the provision by the Durbar of 3000 horse in addition. As a reward for loyal services during the Mutiny, various concessions and restorations were made, the crore deposited was returned, the district ceded originally for the Irregular Horse was restored, and later the three lakhs for the Irregular Horse was also remitted.

By 1881 the Contingent was not required, but the Gaikwar now paid a sum of three and three-quarter lakhs instead, presumably as a general contribution to the army that protected him. (A lakh was then ten thousand and now seven thousand odd pounds, a crore a hundred times as much. A lakh, therefore, is not the vast sum it sounds.)

It is not very easy under such a record to say precisely what this State should or should not now contribute.

If we turn to the cases of some of the smaller states we shall find they all contributed a definite sum to the maintenance of certain local defence corps commanded by British officers, now delocalized and merged in the Line since Lord Kitchener's day, as all question of local defence and order had lapsed.

The rules and variations of these defence agreements are legion, and are only quoted here as showing how complicated is the question of the Princes' contributions to Defence, when examined for purposes of assessing a Federal basis. The justice or otherwise and the reasons for these arrangements are not in question here.

The matter of the Nizam's contribution has been referred to in another chapter and has many more ramifications and facets.

The whole subject will need further study but the solution is simplified now that the position of the Crown is still further established and Defence is a subject reserved to the Governor-General. He can give final rulings hereafter if the matter needs further settlement.

THE PRINCES IN THE WORLD WAR

When we come to the World War, we see, as just stated, that 26,000 Imperial Service Troops took part. In addition to this, a great many State subjects then, as in the ordinary course of peace time, but much stimulated, enlisted in the Indian Army, which had many new units to raise and many casualties to replace. (One of the pleasant fictions that the glossist loves to perpetuate is the immense services of the people of India to the British Empire during the World War. The Punjab, the Mahratta districts and the Jāt districts, south and west of Delhi alone sent vast numbers and suffered many casualties. The great mass of India contributed few men, partly because the major portion have no physical courage of the martial kind while their physique is quite unfit to bear arms. It was estimated during the war that only ten per cent of the peoples of India of all ages and sexes could be classed as martial classes. Hence, of course, the Rajput domination and the successful conquest by Arab, Afghan, and Turk for centuries. The landowners and a portion of the intelligentsia gave some support to such matters as the Red Cross and the War Loans. The Bombay women cared very heartily for the sick and convalescent of all races. But India had to endure the fierce subtleties of the *Gadr* Rebellion, the murder gang's activities from San Francisco, the vagaries of the Indian revolutionary bodies in Kabul, the Silk Letter plots, the futilities of the Lahore Lawyers, and the intrigues of the seditionists in the Indian regiments. It was not till well on in the war that the actual resources of India were adequately or intelligently exploited. The 'Depressed Classes' far exceeded ordinary India in their enthusiasm, for they and the Animists poured into the Labour Corps that served all over the world. India as a whole, outside the Punjab, did not distinguish itself, and certainly suffered comparatively little loss.)

But whatever the candid critic may say of British India, there can be no two words about the Princes' States. Their response was to throw themselves, their troops, and the resources of their States into the scales. As soon as they knew what was required, no effort was too great. It should be a matter of general knowledge that Germans and Turks sent missions to stir up the Amir of Afghanistan against Britain, and to plot with anarchists and seditionists who had been chased from India. How cleverly and faithfully the Amir Habibullah played with them is another story. But it is not perhaps so generally known, that Germany endeavoured to raise India also, and the failure so inherent in her psychology to read aright the signs of the times, led her to believe that India was ready to seek the first opportunity to throw off a hated yoke. In accordance with that belief, the Kaiser sent addresses, like the pills, 'gold-coated for Chieives',¹ in emblazoned leather cases, to the Princes, to say that he was coming to relieve them from the intolerable oppression under which they groaned. Just as once Rudyard Kipling, seriously ill, to whom a message of condolence from W. Hohenzollern had been read, murmured 'Damn his impudence', so one and all did the Princes respond. Their general attitude gave a lead to all India and strengthened the hands of Government in handling the ill-minded pirns just referred to. Besides the State troops and State funds, hospital ships were equipped, forage baled in vast quantities, State forests stripped, agriculture stimulated, minerals intensively extracted. There was no call or service asked for that was not furnished with zest and gladness.

Many of the Princes went to France themselves, Bikanir, Pertab with his Lancers, longing to die in action, and numerous others. When the Sultan the Caliph, and the Sheikh ul Islam declared their *Jihad*, it was the Agha Khan, in citizen's guise of a straw hat and tourist suit, who went

¹ See p. 257.

among the Indian Moslem troops defending Egypt, to say that there could be no true *Jihad*, no call to protect Islam issued from such misguided sources. An Indian Prince was to join the War Cabinet, too, as well as the Peace Conference.

When there were few troops to hold the Suez Canal and watch Sinai, it was the far-flung patrols of the Bikanir Camel Corps, the Mysore and Hyderabad Lancers with the Alwar, Gwalior, and Patiala Infantry who stepped into the breach. Two regiments of Hyderabad Lancers rode at Armageddon in Jezreel, and all the Sinai troops increased by a Kashmir Infantry battalion, and the Kathiawar Signal Troop took part in Allenby's victorious campaign. It was the Johdpur Lancers who helped gallop the Turk out of Haifa. Kashmir infantry were in the disastrous attack on Dar es Salaam, and one of the Kashmir mountain batteries served in the later campaign in German East Africa, and also on the Quetta Frontier, while Tehri Garhwal sent her sappers to the Tigris. In fact for the time the State troops were completely identified with the British Army, with sufficient British Officers attached to help in those duties where assistance or stiffening was valuable. It was indeed a remarkable tribute to the enthusiasm and loyalty of the States, and to the success of the Imperial Service (as it was then called) System.

When in 1919 the foresworn Amanullah launched his treacherous invasion, it was His Highness the Nizam who stood forth to steady Moslem opinion, lest the inrush of Moslem invaders should strike the old broken springs of religious fervour to jangled discord.

BOOK III

THE PRINCES IN MODERN INDIA

CHAPTER XI. THE MODERN STATES

CHAPTER XII. PRINCES' INDIA ON THE EVE OF FEDERATION

CHAPTER XIII. FROM ROUND TABLE TO FEDERATION

CHAPTER XIV. THE PRINCES AND THEIR FUTURE IN THE NEW
PATTERN

CHAPTER XI

THE MODERN STATES

General conditions in 1920. The Five Great States. The Mahratta States. The Rajput States. The Punjab States. Moslem States. The Development of New States. Nepal and Afghanistan.

GENERAL CONDITIONS IN 1920

AS yet in the historical outline no precise description of the Princes States as they now are, has been given, since it is only the actual conditions that prevail in the few years preceding the passing of the India Act of 1935 that are of general interest to-day. How those States are grouped for their connection with the Governor-General is dealt with a little later as we come to the eve of Federation. It has already been explained that those which for reasons of convenience were grouped under the Presidential Governments have now come under the central control of the Governor-General in certain definite groups based as far as may be on their geographical situation and their racial affinities.

Since the coming of the Crown a few new States have come under control or have had their relations systematized, and these will be referred to in this chapter. Those on the North-West Frontier evolved from chiefs under protection, have gradually grown into something like the older States so far as their relationship with the British goes.

As the conditions and conflict between Hindu and Moslem, so long dormant, has become acute in the rising of the Reforms, almost entirely by reason of the action of mischief makers—a class which teem in India when the hand of repression is loosened—a brief reference to the Moslem States as such is also given.

THE FIVE GREAT STATES

There are five great States which are dealt with directly by the Governor-General, whose rise, creation and curtailing

has been already described. Their importance is significantly portrayed to Indian eyes by the fact that their rulers alone are entitled to a salute of twenty-one guns, they are in the parlance of the Political Department 'Twenty-one-gun States.'

HYDERABAD. First and foremost comes that premier State and ancient ally, ruled by the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose dynasty's story and rise has been dealt with at length and his position in the great Indian pattern emphasized. Here are the statistics of area and population. *Area* 82,000 square miles (Great Britain has 88,000), *population* about thirteen and a half millions, of whom all but a million are Hindus of varying castes and outcastes. *Revenue* about £7,000,000. The area is practically the same as when the Marquess Wellesley relieved it from the increasing peril of the Mahratta confederacy. Sir William Barton points out that without the constant support of the Nizam, from days earlier even than those of the Marquess, the story of British dominance in Southern India might have been very different. 'That is a very just remark, tempered a little perhaps by the salvation from Mahratta encroachments, which he also records. It may be said that the two rules have been complementary one with another. A glance at the map of the great continent will show how the Nizam's dominions stretch almost from sea to sea, from the Indian Ocean to the Bay of Bengal. They are, of course, far less than when Asāf Jah was the Mogul Viceroy and heir to what he could hold of the centre and south.

The dynasty is known from that great ruler as '*Asaf-jah-i*,' and the present Nizam is His Highness Sir Osman Ali Khan. His heir is married to the beautiful daughter of the late Sultan of Turkey, a lady largely educated in Italy.

Hyderabad, the capital after which the State takes its name, is a handsome though not ancient city. Three miles from it is the great military cantonment of Secunderabad,

where lies the subsidiary force of British Indian troops, and adjacent to it Bolarum,¹ once the headquarters of the Nizam's Contingent. It has been explained how this force came into being by ancient treaty to protect the Nizam from the Mahrattas, and has always remained within the State Area, under special arrangement and dispensation, and which has endured in the happiest manner. Hyderabad is largely a rolling plateau, some 1200 feet above the sea, and for this reason Secunderabad is perhaps the finest training ground for troops in India, while its climate is salubrious and moderate in its summer heat. The Moslems in the State are largely round and in the cities, holders of land and their retainers, while the people are all Hindu, of three of the older races which converge therein, all of the *Dravidian* or *semi-Dravidian* origin, viz. *Telegu*, *Mahratta*, and *Canarese*. The migration of Arabs from Hydramaut has been referred to, and there are many Indian-born Arabs and their descendants in Hyderabad as well as newcomers. In fact just as the northern Moslems from across the Indus came to Lucknow and Delhi, so have Arab migrants been attracted to Hyderabad, by no means always welcome by reason of their unruliness, in times gone by calling for military interference. All the Deccan and Central Indian States in the past employed Arab mercenaries.

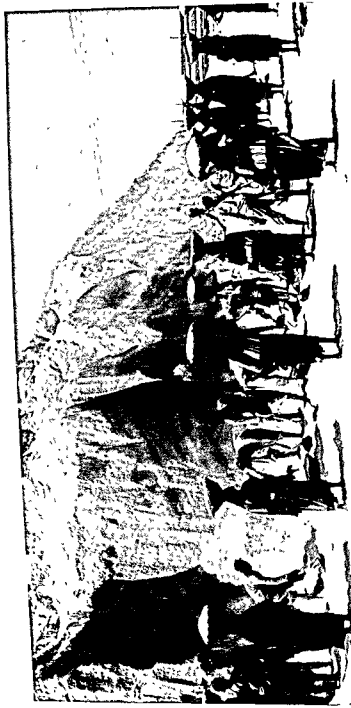
Hyderabad is the only powerful Moslem Crown left in India and its Moslem society with its great nobles, and their forces and retainers, have always been a romantic and interesting feature of this State, reflecting something of the splendour of Delhi when the Emperors were more than a name.

Since the name of Hyderabad has been mentioned in connection with the controversy of the Berars in the public mind, that story may be adverted to. It figures in the New

¹ Those who have seen the film *Bengal Lancer*, will recognize Bolarum as figuring in its scenes.

Act and the concomitants thereof. In accordance with the custom of the Marquess Wellesley the British Indian 'subsidiary force' was maintained for the State's protection from powerful acquisitive neighbours, while the State also maintained a special military force, the Contingent, for the assistance of the British as well as its own internal use—in the case of Hyderabad essential for many years.

This force was long a *corps d'élite*, and is now as already explained merged in the British Indian Line. After the attacks made by the Rajah of Berar on his Resident and its escort as described in Chapter VI, the Berars or a portion thereof were given by the Marquess Hastings to Hyderabad in reward for his assistance. But the finances of the State were long unorganized and the Contingent was not kept up according to treaty. The British put it on its legs, and the State, under what it is possible to call, though there are many aspects, an onerous treaty, had big payments to make for these forces. The amount due to the British Government was very heavy and by agreement in 1853 the Berars were taken over to be administered so as to pay off the debt and defray the upkeep of the Contingent. After 1857, the debt was still eleven millions of rupees. The debt was then cancelled in view of the Nizam's services, and it was agreed that the Berars should still be administered by the Resident on behalf of the Nizam, and the surplus revenue paid to the Nizam. This was a fruitful source of argument, and one result was that the Berars were far better treated than much of British India, in the way of public service and welfare. The Nizam always thought it was too well 'done.' In 1902 the Nizam compounded with Lord Curzon for the perpetual lease of the Berars; the Nizam did not like the arrangement, but realized that the Government of India could not restore the country after fifty years of administration, nor would the people willingly hear of it. The fact indeed already referred to was well known, that once within the British system, however much folk talked



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

CARRYING SALT IN MITHAPUR, IN KATHIWAR
(Part of Baroda State)



Lafayette

H H THE GAIKWAR OF BARODA
Who has just his jubilee of half a century

of their affection for the States, they had no wish to revert to State rule ; the advantages of such were forgotten, and only the disabilities remembered, which is the way of the world. The Nizam accepted in 1902 a quit rent of twenty-five lakhs, and at the same time, the Contingent was transferred to the Indian Line. His Highness is credited with a desire to have it back, and to have suggested that a time might come in which a force moving on a different axis might be valuable as it was in '57. In view of the open attempts of the Congress Party to seduce the Indian Army from its allegiance such a remark if ever made, is but another tribute to the shrewd and whimsical political insight with which His Highness is credited.

The bulk of the countryside in this country as big as England, is much like the plains of the British Deccan, and in view of the many British and Indian officials trained in India that have been employed in the State, the services and systems of administration, roads, railways and other public works are on much the same lines. In most of the States will be found some or other measure of modernity or experiment often absent from British India. That is one of the possible advantages of autocracy and no rigid budget. Some impressive young engineer, agriculturist or mineralogist, advances the merits of new invention or theory. The ruler is captivated, there is no clogging method of discussion and financial approval, in the feminine metaphor no weighing the advantages as it were of a new silk dress when warm underclothing is needed. The silk dress is ordered there and then. It may bring an advantageous marriage in its train, it may be a white elephant.

In Hyderabad modernity has perhaps advanced with more gravity than in the less well developed countries. At any rate the visitor will find a contented and well-administered area, worthy of its ruler's historical status in India and alliance with the British Raj. Sir William Barton says that the Nizam, who has huge accumulations of personal wealth

and jewels, land and housings that are his personal property, and a civil list of £1000 a day, is one of the richest men in the world, but with all that is unusually unostentatious. His nobles flash by in silver-plated Rolls, he himself is content with an old Buick, and hence his accumulated wealth.

Sir William who knows him intimately has much to say of his wise kindly and humorous attitude to his friends, his people and to the world, and opines that in the Federation he will be as strong a link with the British Empire in the future as he and his house have been in the past.

MYSORE. Immediately south of Hyderabad on a salubrious plateau whose level is some hundreds of feet higher than that of the Deccan, lies the next twenty-one-gun State, that of Mysore, whose re-creation at British hands after the destruction of the usurping Moslem dynasty, which endeavoured to drive them from the lands, has been outlined. It was a result which took four wars to achieve. Its ruler is Hindu of a putative Rajput family and unlike the Nizam he rules over a state of which the inhabitants are nearly all Hindus. The area is 29,464 square miles and the population six millions, of whom 340,000 only are Moslems, descendants of warrior settlers, or else of those converted by the fierce zeal of Tippu.

So far back as 1831, owing to the disgraceful misgovernment of the then ruler, the British Government assumed administration and for fifty years administered and restored the country. Like Britain, having "been to school with Rome," it was now firmly set on its way, both in finance and administration, having an administration service of its own in all branches, which is admirable in every way. It is largely Brahmin, and thus the holy class, as in Kashmir, unite temporal power with their high spiritual estate. In a State so largely Hindu, as distinct from Moslem Kashmir, the results are excellent.

Mysore with its uplands, its rivers and falls is well fitted for progress. Companies, British and Indian, developed its gold and other minerals. It has a magnificent power system from the Cauvery falls, and there are many English planters in the area growing tea and coffee.

It has some admirable troops, whose services have been referred to, and the Maharajah is famous for his hospitality to the Europeans of Bangalore and those whom he employs in the State service. It is not too much to say that it is perhaps *the* model State in India, helped thereto, by its half-century of British administrative building.

Modern politics in this modern and advanced State, have not been always easy. The quarrel between Brahmin and non-Brahmin has run the usual course, and the Congress managed to get its evil hand into the pie. His Highness has introduced some democratic reforms. There is an elected 'Legislative Council' but the Ministers are appointed by the ruler.

Bangalore with its equitable climate has not only been a favourite and important cantonment, but the whole *enclave* administered by the Resident has long been a popular settlement of retired Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The proposal under the Federation to restore all this *enclave* save the actual cantonment, has been vigorously opposed by the settlers.

BARODA. Third in the order comes Baroda, far smaller than Mysore and Hyderabad, but important as one of the ancient allies of the British, who took no part in the wars of 1803 and 1817. Protected from earlier times from the brother chiefs of the old Confederacy from the rapacity of Holkar, the supremacy of Sindhia, and the intrigues of the Peshwa, it with but 8135 square miles (cf. the 82,000 of Hyderabad) and a population of but two and a half millions, is yet one of the 'big five'. Its revenue is about one and three-quarter millions sterling. Its people are almost all Hindus of the variety known as Gujarati. The Mahratta

hardly exists. The dynasty is known as *Gaekwar* or 'cow-herd', as explained in an earlier chapter, and its ruler to-day who is this year celebrating his sixty years Jubilee reign is H.H. Sir Savaji Rao Gaekwar. This wise and long-lived sovereign was the adopted son of the last Gaekwar but one. The late Gaekwar was deposed in 1873 for gross misrule. It was his predecessor's widow who, two years later, in the absence of an heir, was allowed to make this adoption. The young Gaekwar, as were the Nizam and the Maharajah of Mysore, was brought up by a very carefully selected British guardian-tutor.

Baroda is generally considered one of the best administered States in India, it is famous for its grazing and butter production, and its terrain as a rule resembles that of its British neighbours. The people are unwarlike, but have an unusually developed taste and capacity for intrigue, which is taking a tiresome enough form under the stimulant of Western politics going rank. In the future the ruler will have his hands full in keeping this tendency in control. As an area it is much broken and irregular and by, for that reason, no means easy to handle.

GWALIOR. Fourth among the 'Big Five' comes what is really the premier Mahratta State, Gwalior the realm of Sindhia, founded as related by the Mahratta general Mahdaji Rao, at one time, rumour has it, slipper-bearer to the Peshwa. He was one of the fortunate ones to escape from the holocaust of Panipat, and his kingdom is carved entirely from the Mogul province of Malwa and parts of Khandesh. Its area is 25,382 square miles, less than a third that of Hyderabad, its population is but three and a half millions, of whom 84 per cent are Hindus, but of these as in all the three Pirate states, Mahrattas are significant by their absence, the total being but 14,000. Because this was so and because the Hindu population produced few enough fit to bear arms, the forces in the past have largely been mercenaries, Arabs, Rohillas, Jats, etc., and

the fighting Mahratta who serves the British so well comes from British India. The dynastic name of the Gwalior family is Sindhia, and the ruling Chief is His Highness Jaiaji Rao Sindhia, who succeeded his able father on the latter's early and untimely death in 1925.

Gwalior is famous for its ancient inaccessible fortress thrice stormed by the British, and thrice restored. In the Mogul days it corresponded to the 'Cage' on the Bosphorus where unwanted royal scions, and deposed princes were confined, and at times made away with. It stands on a rock in the plain like the hull of a modern battleship; its antiquity is great and it contains caves and temples that lead us back far into the mists of the ages. The rebellious troops in 1843 did not attempt to hold it, the mutinous Contingent in 1857 did. A few miles from the city which lies below the rock, is the cantonment of Morar, which has often in the past, held a British garrison.

Because Sindhia is the most important of the Mahratta rulers, because its ruler aimed at, and nearly succeeded in becoming Emperor of India, and because he was fortunate enough not to be swept up on the whirl of 1817, Gwalior is very properly one of the Five. Its administration owing to the energy of the late Sindhia is, under a good minority admirable, and has many notable advances in scientific agriculture. As it nears the Jumna, its plains resemble those of the Gangetic plain, but to the west it becomes involved in hilly forest, and in mountains crowned with famous castles. Among the inhabitants of this wilder *portion* are those aboriginal peoples whose religion to-day is described as 'animist', and quite outside even the wide brim of the Hindu Umbrella. Only 6 per cent of the population is Moslem. Devotion to the Crown is the feature in the lives of the last three rulers and the premonition seems to have passed as regarding the direct succession, and the necessity of adoption.

There is every indication that the young ruler to-day, a

minor¹ when his father died, will follow in the footsteps of his brilliant father. The State Army, with its long tradition has been referred to in Chapter X, and the late ruler's belief in the merits of 'the 40 pr. train' if ever India was to fall away from law and order again. The special services of Jaijaji Rao Sindhia in 1857 have been described in Chapter VIII.

JAMMU AND KASHMIR. Last in the Five comes the State of Jammu and Kashmir, whose creation by the British Government has been described in Chapter VII, as also its famous position on the outer frontier of India. Its fame however lies in the beauty of its highland portion. Jammu consists of the Siwaliks on the Punjab side of that great branch of the Himalayas known as the Pir Punjal, which is never free from permanent glaciers. The people of Jammu are largely Rajput and the lesser Hindu breeds that lie below the Rajput shade. There are also many Moslems of comparatively recent conversion, so that Hindus and Moslems have the same tribal names, and families count kin with each other.

Its area is 84,258 square miles, larger than even Hyderabad, but huge portions are uninhabited mountains. Its population is under four millions, and its revenue two millions sterling.

The history of the valley of Kashmir is a strange one, having been converted, all save its Brahmins, to Islam on conquest many centuries ago, and, years later, finally added to the Mogul dominions. There the Mogul Emperors, mindful of their origin in the mountains of Ferghana, built the most exquisite of summer resorts which remain to this day. A great pavée rose ten thousand feet and took the Imperial courts, palanquins, elephants, guns, every year from Lahore. Of Kashmir, Tommy Moore, who had never seen it, sang beautifully and accurately, there artists paint the summer round and British and Indian visitors come

¹ Then eleven years of age.

for their holidays. The main Kashmir valley is an old lake bottom, 5000 feet above the sea in which the river Jhelum rises from a sacred well as a mighty conduit and meanders peacefully through the valley until it cuts its way through mountains for two hundred miles to the western seas by way of the Punjab plains. It is the river which Alexander crossed, by stratagem to beat the Rajput Poros on its further bank.

Its ruler is Maharajah Sir Hari Singh Bahadur, great-grandson of that fierce cunning Rajput chief Gulab Singh whose story has been told. Jammu his own principality, is the home of some of the best of the Dogra Rajputs who serve in both the Kashmir and the Indian Army, and whose military performances have been referred to.

It is the home of all European fruits, and the grape comes as it does at Kabul, to great perfection. The Jhelum where it enters the gorges furnishes white electricity long developed in the Kashmir Valley. From that valley, routes to Gilgit, and to Chinese Turkestan, climb up towards the Hindu Kush and the Karakorum.

THE MAHRATTA STATES

The Mahratta and Rajput States other than the two included in the 'Five' need a word. So far as they represent Mahratta thought and tendencies, the former are important, while the latter, as the home of all the old chivalry and heart of ancient India, are *sui generis*. . . . It has been explained how bitter is the old and still inherent antipathy between Mahratta and Rajput, a feature which may easily bulk greater in a political India. Also how the two big states with Mahratta chiefs are so called because of those chiefs and a small Mahratta baronage, over-riding a somewhat feeble Hindu peasantry.

It is to be noticed that the majority of Mahrattas do not live in the Mahratta States—with the exception of Kolhapur

(1,000,000) and a few thousands in the small States, 4,500,000 are in British India and 1,500,000 in Hyderabad.

There is one more of the old Confederacy bandit states outside the 'big five', viz., that of Holkar who escaped with his territory after 1817. This was largely owing to the minority of the ruler, whose mother was murdered on the eve of the battle of Meheidpore, by the chiefs opposing the British. The claim to be among the great ones thus failed, while the fact that the last two incumbents have abdicated, the first poking fun at Lord Curzon, as already told, on the latter's recall, show that the regime has not been always efficient. The Holkar of to-day was at a public school in England for three years, and then was three years at Oxford, and is a young man of strength of character and views. Both he and the Maharani are very modern young people who may be very successful in ruling a developing State. Their new Palace at Indore is ultra-modern in its appointments down to electric fittings and a cocktail bar. The State has an area of but 9519 square miles, with a population of a million and a half of whom 91 per cent are Hindus and only 8 per cent Moslems. The number of Mahrattas in the State is conspicuously small, numbering but 16,000. There are three other small Mahratta States in Central India. The Junior and Senior Dewas, and Dhar. In the Deccan Agency there are many small Mahratta States in which both rulers and people are largely Mahratta, of which Sangli with a Deccani Brahmin Chief Raja Sir Appa Sahib is the largest with an area of under 1200 square miles, and a population of a quarter of a million.

The only really important genuine Mahratta State at all, is Kolhapur, already referred to, and that has but 3217 square miles and not quite a million people. Its importance lies in the fact that it is a Bonsla State of the family of Sivaji, that the late Maharajah was an enthusiastically British Mahratta, and had incurred the hostility of

the Deccani Brahmins, whose religious claims to domination and seditious and political violence he would not tolerate. The success of the Mahratta soldiers in the World War in France and in Mesopotamia and the creation of one battalion, a 'Royal' battalion, a unique feature shared, for the first time in history, by very few units, were his special delight and pride. His early death was a great loss, but his successor the present Maharajah Sir Rajaram Chatrapatti, should be able to continue the same policy. Mahratta politics in themselves are a very interesting feature, as also the cleverness with which seditionists twenty years ago succeeded in turning the stream of an anti-Moslem Sivaji revival, into an anti-governmental move for which there was no sort of cause. This Sivaji cult which has much to recommend it in its original conception, was never very acceptable to the great Mahratta rulers in Central India.

THE RAJPUT STATES

From Mahratta-dom, the Sudra tradition which only here has power, we may turn again to the White race, the Rajput States as they stand to-day. The famous ones in Rajputana is first of all, Udaipur (better known to Europeans by its older anglicised spelling Oodeypore) whose history has been outlined in Chapter V. The chief, the Maharana, is the acknowledged head of the Rajput chiefs and all Rajputs in India, who 'answer signs and summons', and otherwise are Hindu and take pride in their origin. It was cruelly oppressed by the Mahrattas before the Peace. Its area is 12,691 miles, its population a million and a half, of whom 76 per cent are Hindu, but not by any means, as already explained, all Rajput, and there are 13 per cent of the hardy aboriginal Bhils who are animists. The present ruler Sir Bhupal Singh is partially paralysed, but active. He takes some part in shikar, and has much experience, as

after his father was restricted in his powers, owing to unsuccessful government, it was Bhupal Singh who carried on the reformed administration.

Bikanir, whose ruler is so famous and well known in England and whose knowledge of English and modern ways of diplomacy is first class, is a vast state of 23,000 square miles which however is very largely sand desert stretching away to the confines of the Punjab State of Bahawalpur on the left bank of the Sutlej. Its population is about a million, almost all Hindus. The Bikanir Chief, Sir Ganga Singhji, belongs to the famous Rahtor Clan and has reigned for close on fifty years. Bikanir city presumably from its inaccessibility to raid has curiously enough long been the headquarters of some of the great Indian banking houses, with branches, in the curious eastern way now passing, stretched far into Central Asia.

JAIPUR and ALWAR are ruled by chiefs of the Kachwana clan, the former being by far the larger State with 15,600 square miles, and two and a half million people of whom 90 per cent are Hindus, and a revenue of a million sterling, while Alwar has but 3185 square miles, but with a population of over 700,000, indicating far more habitable lands than the mountains and sands of Jaipur or the deserts of Bikanir.

JODHPUR approaching the deserts of Sind, has a larger desert area itself than even Bikanir carrying but two million folk to 35,000 square miles of territory.

Bundi, Jeysulmer, Jhalawar, and Kotah are the remaining Hindu Rajputana States.

All the rulers of Ind have high-sounding titles, usually Persian, some conferred by the Mogul or later by the British in Mogul form, such as *Arkan i Daulat* (Pillar of the State), *Raja-i-Rajagan* (King of kings), *Bahadur-i-Bahaduran* (Bravest of the brave), *Dost i Englishia* (Friend of the English), and so forth, recited on occasions of State. Kipling sings it forth for us in 'The Last Suttee':

" Friend of the English, Free from fear,
Baron of Luni to Jeysulmeer,
Lord of the Desert of Bikaner,
King of the Jungle—go ! "

So much in brief, the Rajput States of the Ancient Kingdom, but there are plenty more to the south thereof, the Rajput States of Central India in which area all are Rajput save the three small and two large Mahratta States, above mentioned, two small Moslem States, and the important Moslem State of Bhopal.

REWA. Rewa is far the most important of all these, with an area of 13,000 square miles, and a population of a million and a half, of whom 76 per cent are Hindu and the remainder almost all aboriginal animists. The others of any importance are Datia, Rutlam, and Orchha.

In Kathiawar there are six important Rajput States of which Kutch is the largest with 7616 square miles and half a million folk mostly Hindu.

In Chapter XIV the grouping of the States for their relationship with the supreme government and the handling of their exterior problems is given, and Appendix I shows all the ' Salute States ' as grouped for their general handling.

STATES IN THE SOUTH

TRAVANCORE. The States in the south of India, below the great table-lands of Mysore and the Deccan are few. There is one of very great importance, however, Travancore, a Hindu State cut off from the rest of India by the great line of the Western Ghats, and one of the most prosperous and advanced of any. Its area is 7626 square miles and its population five millions, of whom 66 per cent are Hindu, 25 per cent Christian, and 7 per cent Moslem. Its ruler is His Highness, the Maharajah Krishnaraja Wadiya, a member and chief of the ancient and independent Hindu people the Nairs. The State has a revenue of three millions sterling.

The isolated position of Travancore and its neighbour, Cochin, have saved it from much of the struggles of India in the past. The military caste of Nair or Nayar, owns a large portion of the land. Hinduism flourishes strictly and the Brahmin classes are influential, but the large number of Christians, who belong chiefly to the Church of Rome or the Uniate Syrian Church, is remarkable, 1,600,000 in all. Travancore and Mysore are the only States in India with any form of popular or democratic government. In the hills are extensive tea estates mostly belonging to British Companies, also rubber and pepper. A peculiarity of this State and its people is 'matriarchy', inheritance through a sister's son. The position of women is thus more important than in most Indian communities, and the percentage of female literacy is four times as high as the rest of India, being 17 per cent. His Highness only succeeded a few years ago, was brought up by Indian English tutors, and received a training in State administration in Mysore. He is recognized as a promising young ruler, and Travancore has all the conditions for contented and prosperous existence. Till lately a British civil servant has been minister, and he has been succeeded by a Moslem from the Viceroy's Council. The Ports of Travancore and its neighbour Cochin are remarkable under modern development, and a glance at a map shows the sheltered lagoons in which they lie. There are several hundred Britons engaged in planting and business in the State.

COCHIN is a much smaller State to the north of Travancore, but of much the same nature, also with Nairs as the ruling race and a Nair Maharajah. The population is something under a million and a quarter. The port of Cochin is remarkably favoured and its development has produced an all-seasons port, whereas hitherto Marmagao far to the north was the only port so blessed in the western shores of Southern India. It is said that a great trading

future lies before it. Details of the other small Madras States are shown in Appendix I.

THE PUNJAB STATES

PATIALA, the principal of the States of the Flower, has an area of just under 6000 square miles and a population of over a million and a half, with a population largely though not exclusively Sikh, and situated in fertile well-irrigated Punjab plain, country with also pine and deodar-clad hills round about Simla. Its revenue is a million and a half sterling, and its internal development is modern and prosperous. The Maharajah Sir Bhupindra Singh, is a man of great ability, strength of character and enterprise, a lover of dogs and horses, an important Freemason, and a figure who may easily become the modern leader of Sikh opinion and religion, as well as a prominent exponent of the attitude of the Princes within the Federation, and towards the proposals.

The other Sikh States, Kapurthala, Nabha and Jhind are considerably smaller but reflect much the same conditions.

CHAMBA is a Dogra Rajput state in the outer Himalayas, with an area of 3214 square miles, something under a quarter million people, and a flourishing timber trade, largely in deodars, floated out on the Punjab rivers, to be dexterously caught by a caste of expert swimmers and log-catchers as the rivers enter their delta.

The Moslem States in the Punjab are Bahawalpur, with 6000 square miles and a population under a quarter of a million, and Khairpur the one survivor of the Amirs of Sind. The ruler of Khairpur, who has lately died, was although carefully brought up—a failure as a ruler, and has been restricted in his powers. A very capable Minister and a son, who has now succeeded, kept the administration from failing and have restored its finances.

Bahawalpur is described under 'Moslem States'.

THE MOSLEM STATES

In discussing in the final chapter some of the difficulties that may arise as the years roll on, the matter of Moslem rulers with Hindu subjects (and equally vice versa) is reviewed, and such may now be referred to briefly as a class. They are not very many. The great example is of course Hyderabad, just described, almost as large in area as Great Britain with its 14½ million population. That kingdom is a Hindu country with a Moslem veneer. That is the case with most of the Moslem Princes' States, save Bahawalpur, one of the Punjab States just mentioned. Here alone is a Moslem majority, except in the States on the frontier, viz. Kalat and Las Beyla in the Baluchistan Agency—States of large area and small population and in quite a different category as to normal life and development to those in internal India—and Chitral, with Dir, Swat, and two other non-salute States across the administrative border of the Peshawur Frontier. In Rajputana we have Tank, under a descendant of a Pindari leader who came to terms with the British in 1818, whose people again are Hindu, also in the Punjab Agency are Malerkotla and the small Mogul State of Loharu (p. 215).

BHOPAL is a state in Central India with a Pathan, i.e., Rohilla, ruler of Afghan origin, and next to Hyderabad one of the most important of the Moslem principalities. Its ruler is Lt.-Colonel H. H. Nawab Sir Hamidullah Khan, who came to the throne on the resignation of her throne by his mother. The area is 6000 square miles, the population 750,000, of whom 73 per cent are Hindu and only 13 per cent Moslem. Its revenue is half a million sterling. The first ruler, Dost Muhammad (the 'Friend of Muhammad'), a military adventurer of the Rohilla clan of Orakzais on the Afghan border, established himself at the end of the seventeenth century, but was at enmity with the mighty Asaf Jah. It has been related how after the reverse of the

Bombay Column at Wurgaon near Poona, in the First Mahratta War, General Goddard was sent across India from Bengal in what was a victorious, nay, astounding march. At Bhopal alone did he meet with an ally. Yar Muhammad, the second Nawab, became an ally of the British, and though abandoned during the 'non-interference' period to Mahratta and Pindari, the kingdom then ruled by his widow was rescued by the British in 1817. She was the first of the famous Begāms¹ of Bhopal and ruled her country as a widow for fifty years. From 1844-1925 for want of a male heir, princesses sat on the throne. The second was the Sikander Begam, to be succeeded by her daughter Shah-Jahan Begam, and again the fourth was Sultan Jahan Begam—Sikander Begam was ruler in the Mutiny and received the thanks of Queen Victoria. In 1926, after much discussion, and be it confessed some lobbying, the Begam was allowed to break the usual though not universal Moslem custom of primogeniture, and nominate her younger son a successor, rather than the son of her deceased elder son. Having secured her point she abdicated. There is likely to be a fifth ruling Begam, as Sir Hamidullah has no son, and his eldest daughter has been recognized by the British Government. It is a strange situation in the Moslem world, but the Begams have been competent rulers, though there have in the past been complication with the Nawabs-consort which need not be considered here, but needed at one time a *coup d'état* by the British Government to set matters right. The ex-Begam was an enlightened ruler, who visited Europe, veiled, on two or three occasions, and handed over a modern well-run state to the present ruler.

His Highness is a prominent figure in Princes' politics, being among those most insistent on all question of

¹ Begām is the feminine of the Turkish Beg or Bey (sometimes as in Algiers Dey)—the masculine form rarely appears in India, save as part of a personal name, but most Moslem ladies of rank are 'Begām'.

paramountcy remaining with the Crown. He and his Begam are modern and westernized in their manner of life.

BAHAWALPUR, the Punjab State, has been referred to under that Agency. About the middle of the eighteenth century the Daudputras, the 'Sons of David,' were driven across the Indus by the Persian Governor of Sind, then under Nadir Shah, and settled on the left bank of the Sutlej. The dynastic name is Abassi Daudputra, and the ruler, a young man, is H.H. Nawab Sir Sadiq Muhammad Khan Abassi V.

The area is 15,000 square miles, and the population about 800,000, of whom 83 per cent are Moslem. The State has improved greatly under irrigation, and when the new Sutlej canal project is finished will do so far more. It has a poor climate, being very hot in summer which is a prolonged one. It has a peculiar style of domed architecture suitable to the heat.

The Nawab is an honorary captain in the Army and was A.D.C. to King Edward when as Prince, he visited India in 1922.

RAMPUR is a small State attached to the Agency of the Governor of the United Province. It is especially interesting in that it is the relic of the Rohilla, i.e., Afghan Colony of landowners and barons who so outrageously misused the Hindus under them. Warren Hastings' action against them was more than justified, despite Burke's notorious philippic. A lie is hard to catch up, few have read Sir John Strachey's real history of the Rohilla War, but have the older falsehoods set in their minds. Barton writes of the Rohilla rule: "Rohilla rule was the worst of despotisms, and had not even the support of tradition." However, that is all far away, and Rampur has remained a sufficiently prosperous and contented State, and is now a progressive one with an enlightened ruler. In the State is an Arabic College well-known throughout India.

The present State was that which remained after the Battle

of Buxar as a tributary to the Nawab-Vizier of Oudh. Its area is but 892 square miles, its population half a million, and its revenue £325,000. Its ruler is His Highness Sir Hamid Ali Khan. The population is 55 per cent Hindu and 45 per cent Moslem.

TANK, in Rajputana, is a larger State than Rampur, having 2579 square miles and a population of only a quarter of a million, owing to its stony and sandy areas. 82 per cent are Hindus and 15 per cent Moslem. Out of the way, it remains simple and old fashioned.

The romance of history lies in two small Moslem States on the West coast where Janjira and Cambay¹ were fiefs conferred by the Mogul on two of their Abyssinian Admirals.

Junagadh in Kathiawar among the Rajput States in that Agency is a somewhat larger Moslem State having an area of 3336 square miles, and a population of over half a million, of whom 73 per cent are Hindu. It has a revenue of £600,000. Its ruler descends from a Moslem General, and to this day some Rajput States in the vicinity pay him tributes.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW STATES

Mention may here be made, though the process has been going on during most of the years of the Crown, of the adding to the list of certain new States on the confines of India, which from shadowy or non-existent relations have come into the framework of the States invited to come within the Federal grouping. They are principally on the North-West Frontier, viz., Kalat, Chitral, Dir and Swat, and on the North-Eastern Frontier. Bhutan and Sikkim are in the class with the Big Five, which is in direct relations with the Government of India, in this case because of their being on the frontier rather than their importance. On the Eastern Frontier, is Manipur, that curious Hindu rule over

¹ Years ago the daughters, the two 'Begams of Cambay' wards of the Mogul, married two British officers,

mongoloid tribes, where, in 1891, occurred the tragedy of the murder of the British envoys and attack on their escort, not entirely unmerited in view of the particular methods that were being employed to settle unsatisfactory conditions.

This State is in relationship with the Governor of Assam as the Agent to the Governor-General. There are several small non-salute States in this area which have had their status regularized of late years.

The State of Kalat has a dramatic and in more modern times, tragic story. The inhabitants are Baluchis, as is their ruler, the head of those tribes of part Arab descent who impinge on the frontiers of Afghanistan, but whose only sympathy therewith lies in their orthodox Moslemism. In years gone by, Kalat owned easy vassalage to the Mogul, and when Nadir Shah annexed the frontier provinces, and the Mogul districts of Afghanistan, then Kalat became nominally Persian. When Ahmed Shah formed the Durani Empire from Nadir Shah's former Mogul provinces, and claimed India as far as the Sutlej, Kalat was Durani, that is to say, paid some dues to that Empire. As Shah Sujah with his British backing passed through Shal and Quetta to Kandahar in 1839, British political officers were to see to it that the Khan of Kalat recognized his former overlord. Nothing could be more distasteful to the Khan, and after Shah Sujah's successful assumption of his throne at Kabul, the return of troops to India made an opportunity to bring the Khan, now in recalcitrant mood, to see reason. As he insisted on resistance the fort of Kalat was stormed, brilliantly enough, by a force under General Willshire, but Mehrab Khan, the chief, was killed. Somewhat later the Khan, installed by the British, was driven out by the fallen Khan's factors, and General Nott had to retake it, both unfortunate occurrences which ought to have been avoidable.

Soon after the withdrawal of the British from Kandahar, the Khan sought to come definitely under our protection

from Dost Muhammad the Barakzai Amir. This was long refused, and it was not till well on in the seventies, when we found it a military necessity for the defence of India to place troops on the magnificent tableland of Shal, and founded the unfortunate cantonment and city of Quetta, that negotiations were entered on. The Khan, the head be it remembered, of all the Baluch clans other than those in the Punjab province, accepted a position which brought him within the categories of the allied and protected Princes of India. Kalat has an area of some 73,000 square miles and a population of 342,000. In the same category comes its small neighbour on the Mekran coast Las Beyla. Chitral, once as already explained a fief of Kashmir, but beyond the power of that State to maintain, has been of late years added to the category of Indian States. It is now like Kashmir on the outer frontier, and acquitted itself remarkably well with the help of its small British India garrison, when Amanullah sent troops against it in 1919. Its ruler and people are non-Afghan, of the old races of that part of the Himalaya that borders on the Hindu Kush and Karakorum.

Bhutan, of a more or less Tibetan people, came into close relationship, when her impenitent raidings into British India produced the Bhootan War of 1864. Since then she and the neighbouring Sikkim have been glad to enter the British Peace, secure thus in any possible attentions from China, Tibet, or Nepal. Very lightly, however, owing to their isolated position does the British connection lay on them, or will hereafter.

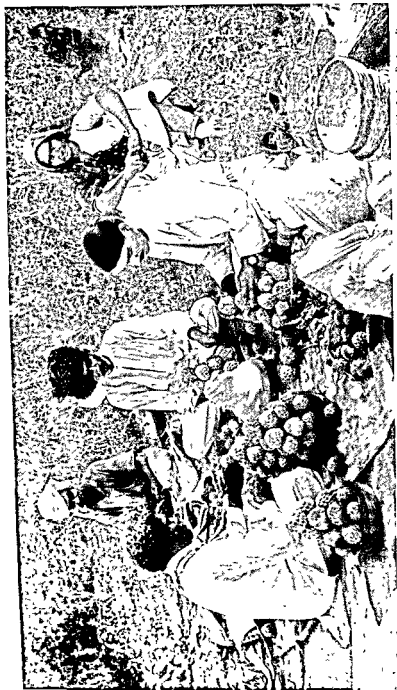
One more addition may be mentioned, that of Cooch Bihar, where a wealthy landowner, and most loyal supporter of the British Government whose Mutiny services were conspicuous, and who had been given the honorific title of Maharajah, was converted finally into a ruling chief with a scanty territory of but 1318 square miles, but the dense population of nearly 600,000. There is a romantic story

of a few years back when the Maharajah Kumar (the heir) and Princess Indira of Baroda, who had been betrothed to Sindhia, made a runaway match and set the whole of India agog. The Maharajah Sindhia was far older than the Princess. She is now the Maharani of Cooch Bihar, well known in England.

NEPAL AND AFGHANISTAN

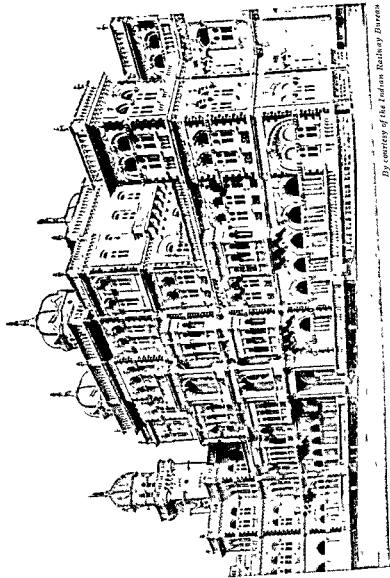
There are two great neighbours of blood and religion allied to India that are outside the Indian Empire, but greatly connected with it. The existence of Nepal as a friendly ally in the past has been treated of. That friendship and alliance has continued uninterrupted since the days of the Mutiny. In the World War, the Ruler of Nepal followed *con amore* the example of 1858 and Nepal troops were sent to the North-west Frontier to allow of the Indian troops being sent overseas. Abbottabad the normal station of several Gurkha battalions was occupied largely by Nepal troops. Since then the agreement whereby a fixed number of Indian battalions are maintained from subjects of Nepal continues, as well as certain other small and service-military units. The Gurkha line consists of ten two-battalion corps whose origin has been referred to. Nepal herself being outside any obligations in the Indian nexus, together with Afghanistan and other neighbours of India, are free to maintain and have established their ministers at the Court of St. James, an entirely desirable move in view of the narrowing of the world. As a Rajput Hindu neighbour Nepal must, however, 'cut some ice' in ordinary Indian doings if even by influence and thought. It would be ill for India, if the dislike of the Congress-minded Indian for so loyal upholders of the British enthusiasms as the Gurkha troops, should ever succeed in abrogating the present arrangements.

When we turn on Afghanistan we see much the same



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

FRUIT PACKERS IN KATHIAWAR



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

THE PARTAB VILLAS PALACE IN JAMNAGAR STATE, KATHIAWAR
(Used as a guest-house)

gesture, but with a different story behind it. Nepal brought up with a round turn from her adventurous brigandage within India, 120 years ago, has lived happily outside ever since. Afghanistan the Mogul fief, after the failure in 1842 of the policy of restoring their own Royal family to the Kabul throne, briefly outlined, has remained outside. The chequered independent existence that existed for close on forty years since 1842, came to a close with the placing of Abdur Rahman on the throne in 1881, and his entering into a defensive and mildly subordinate treaty with the British. Great Britain undertook to preserve the integrity of his dominions, to come to his assistance if invaded by Russia, and to pay him a large subsidy for the maintenance of his defence forces. All through his life with but minor disagreements, the *Amir el Kebir*, 'The Great Amir' as he was called, maintained his alliance. His son Habibullah maintained it all his life and was specially staunch during the Great War. For forty years this alliance lasted, in which the only duress was that Afghanistan should conduct her foreign relations through Britain. In 1919 after the murder of Habibullah, one of his sons, Amanullah, seized the throne, and launched his entirely uncalled-for attack on Britain, in support of the attempted revolution in the Punjab, at a time when the British Indian Army was largely overseas and the war-time armies were demobilizing. His invading columns were promptly kicked back after fairly ineffective endeavours, and Afghanistan was invaded. Britain made an extraordinary easy treaty to ease her tired troops, agreed to abrogate the old treaty and the stipulations regarding foreign relations, but it was obviously absurd to continue paying a subsidy to an Army that might turn against the subsidizer, and this money was saved. Amanullah having torn up his convention, and not having that comfortable nest-egg accumulating in the British Treasury, which his father and grandfather found so handy, soon came to pathetic grief and humiliation, and plunged

his unfortunate country in terrible anarchy. That anarchy¹ was ended when the late King Nadir, Amanullah's former commander-in-chief, returned at the request of the stabler elements to take the troubled throne. Great Britain, true to her ancient policy of endeavouring to maintain a strong prosperous and trading neighbour, came to the rescue in many ways, and the patriotic Nadir Shah was able to restore peace and prosperity. Unfortunately, he fell recently to the assassin and his young son now rules in his stead, with fair promise of happiness. Whether or no, as Lyall made his grandfather Abdur Rahman, he soliloquizes, is another matter. Thus it ran :

" Fair are the vales well watered.
And the vines on the upland swell
You might think I was reigning in Heaven,
I know I am ruling in Hell."

Afghanistan as a Moslem Kingdom adjacent to three Moslem provinces of new India, the Punjab, the Frontier Province, and Sind, bids fair to bulk with some importance in the influence of Islamic culture, as Nepal on Hinduism, in the future. Without the unfailing countenance and support of Britain which has been so liberally and sincerely given, and which the faithless Amanullah flouted so unnecessarily, it will not be easy for Kabul to pursue its visions of civilization and progress. There is nothing in the world to hinder friendship save a fierce fanatical outlook which still has a nidus in some circles in Kabul. The Afghan Ministry in London, though left high and dry during the anarchy of Bacha Saqao,² is a centre from which mutual understanding should be happily promoted. Between 1839 and 1841, individual Afghans and Britons made very deep friendships, hardly torn even by the tragedies that supervened.

¹ Referred to also in Chapter VI.

² Also named Habibullah, but not to be confused with the Good Son of Abdur Rahman.

CHAPTER XII

PRINCES' INDIA ON THE EVE OF FEDERATION

The States as Grouped to-day. The Real Princes. The Chamber of Princes. Modern Problems. The Princes and the Congress.

THE STATES AS GROUPED TO-DAY

THE States to-day are grouped much as they have been for many years, save that, in anticipation of some scheme such as that of *Federation*, more States have been transferred from Provincial to Imperial control and more groups have been made of those formerly dealt with by the political department of the old Presidential or Lt.-Governor's provinces. This has produced a sufficiently symmetrical system for all practical purposes. They are grouped under the same high officers of the Political Department, known as Agents to the Governor-General, but on a more symmetrical system than formerly. Without them, it would be impossible to transact the multitudinous business with the Supreme Government or local governors that are of everyday occurrence.¹

It must be remembered that these States have, as often as not, no definite frontier of geographical feature. The boundary between a British province and a State may be an entirely map-drawn line; it may be a sinuous outline of field and forest, merely so because at the time of coming into the Peace, the lands of the chief and the tenures that may have been granted him for feudal or military service so ran. Because it is so, Customs between British and Princes' India are often quite unsustainable. Moreover, for the same reasons the States often own islands of property within British land. The Princes too may easily be titled owners without sovereignty within actual British provinces, much as the Norman of Plantagenet kings held land in France. The administrative mind of trained officials often desires to straighten out some of these awkward

¹ For full details of States and Grouping see Appendix I.

corners, by exchange of land that will round off the jagged edges. In practice this is not easy, for however happy the subjects of the princes are said to be, and doubtless are, yet there are very few tenants and yeomen now under the British administration who will transfer to the sovereignty of a State, the which is a paradox.

The States for the business of classification are divided into 'Salute' states, viz. those whose rulers are entitled to a salute of guns in British India varying in number according to their importance, and the 'non-salute states', of small importance, but who have been recognized at the Peace as independent, or perhaps tributary to one of the larger states. It should here be explained that the prestige of gun salutes to the Indian mind is very great. The Princes attach great importance to the number of guns allotted to them, a detail often included in their original treaties. Further, an increase in the salute means enhanced prestige to a State, while the grant of extra guns to any particular incumbent in return for services rendered is a much-prized recognition. This whole question of salutes is almost a science in itself, and intrigues to obtain an increase are by no means unknown.

The groups of States are controlled so far as their connection with the Supreme Government goes and their relations with the Governments of their neighbouring British provinces, by the Agents to the Governor-General just referred to. There are ten such throughout India, and the states themselves are grouped for convenience into thirteen classes of varying size. The Central India Agency for instance, contains 28 'salute' states, and 69 'non-salute' states. While the Western India Agency (Kathiawar) has 16 salute states and as many as 236 non-salute states and estates.

The five large states, Hyderabad, Gwalior, Baroda, Mysore, Jammu and Kashmir, as described in the last chapter, are in immediate relations with the Government

of India and are known as Class I. Their rulers receive a salute on entering British India of 21 guns, the highest accorded, which is equal to that of the Crown in Western parts of the Empire. Sikkim and Bhutan are also included in this category, not because of their size and importance, but because they are frontier states bordering on Tibet, and because of the manner in which they have come into the pattern. Their rulers enjoy the lesser salute of 15 guns.

We then come to the states grouped in the various Agencies, that is to say in which the Supreme Government is represented by an 'Agent to the Governor-General', who is concerned with their affairs, with communicating the views or wishes of the Governor-General, or representing to him, the wishes and requirements of the states in that particular Agency.

Class II is a small one containing the States of Kalat and Las Beyla, administered by the A.G.G. in Baluchistan, on the fringe of civilization.

Class III on the other hand is a very large one containing 28 'Salute' States, and 69 'non-salute' states as just said, being those in the Agency of the A.G.G. Central India. The largest here are Indore, 9570 square miles, and 1,318,217 population, and Rewa with 13,000 square miles and 1,587,000 peoples, the Moslem state of Bhopal coming third with 6902 square miles and 730,000 people.

Class IV is also a large one, that of the Deccan States Agency with seventeen states. Of these the largest is Kolhapur, ruled by a descendant of Sivaji, whose loyalty and Mahratta enthusiasm has been described. The states in this agency are all largely Mahratta, testifying to the statesmanship which accompanied the overthrow of the foresworn Baji Rao II the last of the Peshwas.

In *Class V* we come to the Eastern States, numbering twenty, none with a population over a million, that lie over towards Bengal and Berar. This class includes also twenty non-salute states,

Class VI takes us back to the Western Coast again, and is largely the Gujarat¹ States, Rajput with but two Moslem rulers among them. The total is nine, of which Rajpipla is the largest, with a population of under a quarter-million. The number of guns in the ruler's salute is an indication of the size, the majority being entitled to a salute of nine. There are eleven salute states in the group and seventy non-salute states and estates. The major portion of the chiefs are 'Rajahs', but the Chief of Rajpipla is a Maharajah² with a salute of eleven.

Class VII brings us down to the south, being the Madras States Agency, containing the large and very important states of Travancore, just described, and the lesser though still important state of Cochin. There are but five all told in this group.

Class VIII is small enough, being those under the Governor and A.G.G. of the Frontier Province, and Chitral is the only one of importance, the others consisting of four non-salute chiefs.

Class IX on the contrary is one of the most important in India, that of the Punjab Agency, containing the four important Sikh Phulkian States, viz., Patiala, Jhind, Nabha, and Kapurthala, the important Daodputra State of Bhawalpore, and several Rajput states in the Simla and Dogra Hills, fourteen in all. Patiala is the most important both as regards its population of over a million and a half and its ruler's striking personality.

Class X takes us back to Central India, in the form of the Rajputana Agency, all ancient states. The most important are Udaipur with a million and a half people, Jaipur with over two and a half, Jodhpur with over two million, while Alwar Bhurtpur and Dholpur are among the best-known names in the west. All are Hindu Maharajahs or

¹ Or Guzerat, in old times spelt Googerat or Goojerat in British documents.

² Maha means 'great'.

Maharaos, save the old Pindari-founded state of Tank with a Moslem Nawab at its head. There are twenty-one salute and two non-salute states in the group.

Class XI is a very important one again on the Western side dealing with all the Rajput and other states in what is known as Kathiawar, that rather curious projection into the Indian Ocean, and the still stranger Rann of Cutch adjacent. Here there are sixteen salute states, all save two which are Moslem, being Hindu. There are also in this group the surprising number of 236 non-salute states, again an instance of the wide-minded arrangements that our forebears made when taking over control of Kathiawar.

Class XII, XIII, XIV, and XV are groups that are not large enough to be dealt with through an Agent to the Governor-General, whose functions are therefore carried out by the Governors of certain provinces.

Class XII carries us to a far-off corner of India, the hills and downs and forests of Assam, the Maharajah of the considerable state of Manipur and fifteen non-salute chiefs being dealt with through the Assam Government. The strange story of Manipur has been told.

Class XIII comprises only two states, in relations with the Government of Bengal, viz., Cooch Behar and Tripura both of whose chiefs are Maharajahs.

Similarly Class XIV includes states in relationship with the Government of the Punjab, and are largely the small Rajput chiefs in the hills round Simla rescued from the Gurkhas by Lony Ochter *Sahib* in 1816. Only one, Bashahr, is a salute state, there being twenty non-salute states in this group.

Finally we come to Class XV, states in relations with the Government of the United Provinces, of which the relict of the old Rohilla domination, Rampur, is the largest. The other two in the group are Benares and the Hill State also rescued from the Gurkhas, of Tehri Garhwal. The ruler of Rampur is a Nawab, and of Benares a Maharajah.

The aggregate of these presents the vast figure of 585 of which 149 are major states and 436 minor or non-salute states. On reflecting on this astounding aggregate with territory a third, and population a quarter of British India, one cannot but marvel at the system which has managed to keep this pattern contented and in progress. We may also perhaps realize how little likely to be comprehensive are the remarks and descriptions of those who visited a few and deduce from such any conception of the problem as a whole. We may also realize how complicated a matter must be a system of grouping that will make Federation possible.

THE REAL PRINCES

What then, it may be asked, and this book is written for those who do not know, rather than those who do, what manner of men are those Princes that are to fulfil so important a rôle in the Federal Government, and what is the system of government that they exercise in their own states. The answer is not easy to give. As we have just seen, they number one way or another close on 600, of a very varying nature.

It is not too much to say that they are all autocrats of a peremptory nature, mostly benevolent autocrats with a benevolent peremptoriness. Autocracy, if well and wisely practised, is far better suited to the Indian mind, certainly to Indian landowner, yeoman, and peasant, than anything else. Some cynic might easily say, judging from the state of Europe, that it is preferred and accepted in most of the states of Europe after their unfortunate experiences in democracy. Those who have read Lord Lytton's book on his lamented son, will remember the phenomenon of that singularly attractive and admirable Lord Knebworth, after his university days, declaring his belief that democracy if not communism is the only practical code and creed for modern humanity, changes his colour as he sees more of

the world. He then declared equally vehemently that all democracy is a chimera, and that without a dictatorship the world can only go from bad to worse and end in chaos unutterable. The which is a paradox—but it may be true.

However that may be, in truth the Princes of India are dictators. They may dictate through an admirably devised system of Assembly and Chamber, which some of the rulers of very modern views have of late installed as in Mysore. They usually dictate through chief ministers, with councils of elders as law-makers, or they may be the state themselves; *L'état c'est moi*. Some do actually rule personally and almost alone as the head of the state, others as constitutionally as is consonant with their final dominant rôle. For many years, as has been explained, the influence and even pressure from the Governor-General has been in the direction of establishing a definite and upright system of administration. The larger states have chief ministers of great ability, several of whom came to the Round Table Conferences. It may here be postulated that a system of administration has no connection with dictatorship or otherwise. Good civil and other services take their orders from above. Those orders come from a minister, and whether that minister is movable at the will of an elected chamber, or by a potentate, does not really affect the administration if such be carried out by an efficient bureaucracy. Even in England the chief use of Parliament is to let ministers and their departments get on with the job, while the talkers talk one with another. What is wanted is wisdom and understanding. The Indian mind asks for an 'order', a '*hukm*' and hopes to get a good one. Again it has been explained how for several generations now many trained British officials, many of them Indian, some of them European, have been lent by the Indian Government to assist in organizing or reorganizing the state governments, especially that most important matter of all, the revenue system.

Many of the rulers with a penchant for western travel and

desire to be absent from their own states for considerable periods have even installed a British chief-minister, saying with some cynical wisdom, that then they can stay away for long periods and know that all is going well at home. But in all the larger and more accessible states, the system is more or less the system of British India, the system of the British Civil Service, whose motto of 'everything for the people' is responsible for the happy development of India.

The major portion of the States publish each year their own administration report, and from these the fullest information as to the state and its condition are recorded with all relevant statistics. While it is true that in some of the states, you will step back a thousand years when you emerge from the railway station from which you have alighted, yet it is also possible that you will do so through a town blaring with wireless and gramophones and glaring with electric light. Both rulers and people have fallen for such outward signs of Westernry. If you take the large States of the plains, Hyderabad or Mysore, you will not notice any great difference from the ordinary province of British administered India. The police are reasonably efficient,¹ the public works are effective, roads are in reasonable order, irrigation is effective and water bailiffs no more dishonest than in British India. When we come to the princes themselves you are often touching the real East and the days of chivalry, to which many add the best parts of the West. Men of shrewd, if not always practical, views, masters of clever epigrams in their privacy concerning Viceroys, Agents to the G.G. and the like, some of the older-fashioned ones make the shrewdest if most eccentric points. One who has now passed to the pyre, and those who know will recognize him by the very quaintness of the remark may be quoted. We had been discussing the many excellences of the late

¹ In almost all States, except perhaps the largest, the police have a very hard time. Dacoity, i.e. robbery under arms, prevalent even in British India, is at times rampant and ruthless in the wilder and hilly States.

Lord Reading during his vice-royalty, and he asked me if it was as true that he attended with Lady Reading the Anglican Church at Simla. When I said this was so, he sat up and opened his dreamy eyes. "Really? does he really!—Hmm! *Kneel karta?*" "Does he kneel"—and that was a very shrewd searching question going to the fountain-head of things.

Courteous and kindly are their manners, often dignified and often commanding, sometimes quaint and undignified, glorying in sport, delighting in horses, keen on horse-racing, taking pride and interest in their armies, fathers of their people, sometimes ready to remove a dishonest official and bastinado him, or its equivalent, then and there *coram publico*, to its great joy. As the dear good Sir Pertab Singh, so affectionately known as 'Pertab' said to Lady Minto of the Bengal seditionist and atrocity mongers "Too much trying, first fill with red pepper, then hanging."

To their many striking traits and the variations which may be expected among six hundred, they add the outstanding trait, nay it is the universal trait of India, of real staunch friendship for friends. Often in the royal manner, pounds, shillings and pence are anathema, yet some are great financiers. Clearly will they add much to steadying the Federal scheme for India.

The charm of the British Crown from Victoria to George V has always captivated them. Their receptions in England have always removed any soreness that the Viceroy's decisions, or the occasional ineptness of the Political Secretary or the Political Officers, may have induced. Their personal loyalty to the Crown, as the arch-representative of their order, is unbounded.

The great figures and presence of some of the more important are well known to the British Public, the handsome soldierly, more than scholarly Bikanir, Rajput and descendant of long lines of the sons of Princes, as Rajput means. Patiala the magnificent in ways and presence, the

Sikh of Sikhs, soldier, statesman, high Free Mason, possessor of more jewels and orders than any, impatient of pipsqueak officials, true friend, perhaps relentless enemy. To use his own phrase he is the 'bad-boy' of Federation, in that he has led and voiced the objection to step on the slippery plank which the first draft of the 'Instrument of Accession' seemed to indicate, as will soon be explained, as the *decensus Averno* into the slough of interference by the Vakil Raj¹ in States affairs.

There are many, the famous Ranji, who took the same line and passed away soon after, another gentleman of gentlemen, the Nawab of Bhopal also a soldierly and distinguished figure, happy successor by abdication of the fourth of the famous Begams of Bhopal and many another. In the English polo-field many are known. At the conference and dinner table many have shown themselves brilliant speakers, none more so than the Maharajah of Alwar with his famous head-dress of his own designing, now in retirement since another side of his complex character took charge of him.

They are many and famous, and among them though in quite a different category is the Agha Khan, who is not a ruling prince at all, though it is sometimes suggested that he well might be one. He is the religious head of a non-orthodox division of Islam, the sect of the Ismailis, and his ancestor was found by Sir Charles Napier wandering in Sind in the forties, a refugee from Persia.² Knowing that many of his followers lived in India, and their reputation, Napier invited him to make his home in Bombay. If your mind cares for the curiosities of life, you may like to know that this cultured, high-minded Prince Pafatine, whose character gives him great influence even in orthodox Moslem circles, is the real 'old codger'. He has his origin from

¹ Second-class Lawyer rule. The word of contempt for the Indian politician who largely comes from this class.

² He a wanderer, found the Sind battles in progress and attached himself to the British side.

the head of the ancient sect of Assassins or Hashisin, known to Crusaders as the 'Old Man of the Mountains' the *Sheikh mal Jebel*, the head of the Khojahs, or 'worthy men' in Eastern euphuism. His followers to this day in India are known as Khojahs. To the Crusading Atkins the 'Old Khojah' the 'Old man of the Mountains' became the 'Old Codger', an artful codger too for those who had to hunt his fanatical agents. And so the language of London got a new word. It is but appropriate that the Old Codger should win the Derby and any other race he puts his mind to.

The names and high qualities and infinite charm of many of these high personages are too numerous to detail, but there was one among them, now alas no more, who by general consent was the premier in that old world chivalry. He, Maharajah Sir Pertab Singh of Idak and later of Jodhpore, the first gentleman in the highest and idealized meaning of that word, in the British Empire, has been already referred to, and more of him can scarce come amiss. Sir William Barton relates the story well known in India, sung of by Henry Newbolt, of a British officer dead of an accident, away in the wilds of Rajputana, and only three Englishmen to bear the body. No high caste Hindu could do such a thing, for the dead are a pollution, especially an alien body. It remained to find someone of an outcast tribe to whom nothing is pollution. When Sir Pertab saw the difficulty he knowing that chivalry and high-thinking came before even the Hindu conception of life and the Almighty, stepped forth to share the burden. To Hindu minds the action was almost unthinkable, and great beyond men's power of doing.

The shrewd effective broken English of his speech was the delight of all who knew him. Should the King sit up too late (Pertab was his A.D.C. during his visit to India) with a heavy day before him, one of the staff might say "The King has an early start Pertab, he ought to get a night's rest, tell him". Sir Pertab, or so men said, would

go to the King and say "King! King! I thinking sleeping".

After a reckless career in France he returned to India, to be greeted on his railway platform, by a relative of rather the fat and sleek variety.

Pertab looked at him in surprise.

"What you doing here? All brave men dead." He wore a miniature of Queen Victoria set in brilliants in his head-dress. Normally he loved to dress like a tinker, and was such a character as the world rarely sees. A Rajput of the bluest blood and chivalry, he considered himself above all rules and codes save those dictated by his own sense of fitness which was of the highest. Lady Minto has many charming stories of him—among others of how one of the Vice-regal A.D.C. whom he liked introduced his brother. "Maharajah, this is my brother." "My brother too, *Sahib!*" and he meant it.

In many of the States, especially the Rajput States, there is real feudal identity between chief and people. In others, where a Moslem Prince rules a Hindu people, it can hardly be so.

THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

It has been told how Lord Minto's attitude, the attitude of a considerate gentleman, improved the atmosphere left by the efficient but uncompromising Curzon. We should, however, realize that, among the many points which India will recognize in the future as due to that ruler, he also outlined plans for a Chamber¹ of some kind in which the Princes should come together, and handle their own peculiar and growing problems. Whitehall however was not responsive. Both he and Lord Minto called the Chiefs together, but it was not till the Montagu-Chelmsford re-arrangement—the word 'Reform' has in modern times

¹ Indeed so far back as 1877, Lord Lytton then Viceroy made a similar proposal.

departed from its original meaning, and is now connected with removing something that is wrong, rather than the re-making and re-arranging—that a definite bringing together of the Princes was inaugurated.

That inauguration has been hailed as the departure from a wicked custom of isolation. The causes of isolation were of course dead, long before it was changed, but how long dead could only be said by some one familiar with many curious and inaccessible archives. It would have been a quite impossible change not only before the Mutiny, but for some little while after. The isolation was due to two separate causes, first the great danger of the Princes or let us say some of them, plotting against the British before the paramount position had been contentedly accepted. There were a good many occasions, till much later than 1857, when freedom to plan and consult might have had serious repercussions, but the second reason is that there were many serious causes of dispute between States, remaining from early times, disputes which, if left to the States to finish off, would have been settled by the sword.¹ Even those settled amicably could only have any general resemblance or any prospect of permanency if handled through the paramount power.

However, at whatever date in the history of the Crown, the policy of isolation became out of date, there is no doubt that after the World War the time had come for change. The Princes were taking prominent sides with us in France or Palestine, and were serving on conferences and commissions often representing India or Great Britain herself.

Therefore it was that the Chamber of Princes was set up after the 'Reforms', opened by the Duke of Connaught in 1921 and generally encouraged and stimulated. A seat in the Chamber was the right of the greater Princes, and the lesser much as grouped in Appendix I elected their representative. Under this arrangement 109 Princes were

¹ *Vide* Lord Ellenborough's minute on p. 174.

entitled to sit or to send their personal representatives, and 126 were represented by 12 elected members.

The Chamber had never and was not intended to have any jurisdiction. That was always understood, but it was the ground where Princes could meet, where the measures required for their Order and their States could be discussed, and where atmospheres and affabilities grew. For some years the Nizam and certain others had held aloof, as they had every right to do, and as years rolled on modified their attitude, to withdraw again, however, as Federation was discussed, because they were not happy over various adumbrations and ideas about 'Paramountcy'. The matters that have been discussed have naturally been legion, and it is not too much to say that at times statesmanship and prescience of a very high order have been displayed. (It would be quite in order for their Highnesses to discuss what course would be pursued by them if Congress and seditious lawyers from outside came into their States to poke such fun at them as good-natured and foolish John Bull has put up with these twenty years. Should it be boiling oil or red pepper? or what efficacious method of getting rid of them would be preferable and effective and less likely to stir outside opinion?) Railway policy, Federation, Defence, their attitude towards ancient payments for defence and protection, and so forth, with the education of their own scions and their nobles' sons, colleges, women's education, and the like to a hundredfold, would be on their agenda.

It is not too much to say that at the rate the world is moving, the business of India, nay of the World as regards air-routes and aerodromes, could not have been done without the help of the Chamber, the *Narendra Mandal*, to give it its Indian name. Indeed it was the eye-piece by which the Princes could see for themselves the trend of world forces, and realize that, without Federation, they would be left on a lee shore. Also it was evident that matters concerning themselves would inevitably be handled

in a complete Indian Assembly that would tend to usurp their freedom and the power of the Paramount. Also, speaking generally, it was soon evident enough that without Paramountcy they might find themselves between the devil and the deep sea. Paramountcy indeed began to stand out more and more as their sheet anchor in a changing wind and tide.

The paramountcy question which has been described in Chapter IX exercised the Princes' minds greatly, but, as will be indicated in the next few chapters, it was not so much for its own sake as for fear lest some of the powers, nebulous of necessity in unexplored directions, should be transferred to the new Indian Legislature. It will probably vanish as an anxiety now that Sir Samuel Hoare has made it quite clear that *Paramountcy, whatever it is or may be, is quite outside the question of Federation, and remains where it was, with the Crown and the Crown's Governor-General and nowhere else.* If it is to be discussed and defined more precisely, it can be done at any time on its merits entirely outside the question of federalism.

But before the discussions reached the stage just referred to, there were many points that the Princes and the Government of India wanted examined and cleared up. To satisfy the apprehensions and wishes of the Princes in the inchoate discussions of a few years ago, a most important committee under the Presidency of Sir Harcourt Butler (The Indian States Committee) explored the general points of Paramountcy and other important relations. This committee sat in 1927 and reported in 1928,¹ and its findings gave satisfaction to the Princes on many points, and was probably one of the reasons that induced the Princes' representative to unexpectedly offer to accede to a Federal scene at the 'First Round Table'. Two of its main findings were included in the 'Simon Report'.

In 1930 there sat a 'Financial fact-finding Committee'

¹ Comd. Paper 3307, 1928.

regarding the financial relations between the Paramount and the States from the very beginnings of treaty and also into the incidence of the new Customs and tariffs, which were such a modern bone of contention. This was followed in 1930 by the Indian States Financial Enquiry Committee (Davidson)¹ which brought clearly to the surface many important items of the past regarding defence, old assignments, and also showed clearly what was the amount lost to States revenues from Imperial customs. This also cleared the way for the shares that the States might be asked to contribute to central revenues, on which Lord Eustace Percy's Committee reported ('Federal Finance Committee').²

Thus with the anxieties and the assistance of the Chamber many points discussed therein came out into definite report form, for their satisfaction and the general construction of the new edifice.

It is understood that the Chamber of Princes will be an essential feature, parallel with, but, of course, outside, the Federal Legislature, and likely to serve an even more important purpose than it has done since the Duke of Connaught called it into being on behalf of the King-Emperor.

MODERN PROBLEMS

During the existence of the Chamber of Princes, and indeed before, a problem that has been becoming more and more insistent is that of a solution of the Customs and Tariff problem. Twenty-five years ago the tariffs on entry into India were trivial, and the fact that these were levied at the Imperial ports of entry hardly affected the States at all. The light dues that existed were not on goods that found their way to any appreciable extent into the States. Then began a gradual change, a duty was levied, not yet a heavy

¹ Comd. Paper 4103. July, '32.

² Comd. Paper 4069 of '32.

one, on goods entering India, *ad valorem*, as a revenue producing item, concomitant with the fall of the rupee, and the devaluation of silver. That also was not excessive. But times have since changed greatly, duties have been levied of late years for the double reason of further revenue in the years of depression, and also for the protection of nascent Indian industries. The Indian and provincial legislatures, sometimes merely to assert themselves, have discussed the whole gamut of tariff and duty policies, and have also tried, prompted by Congress bitterness, to levy duties of discrimination. Apart from that, however, the duties are often ludicrously heavy, and this has made for great unevenness in their incidence upon goods which, landed in Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta or any of the other growing ports, find their way to the States. These States wish to levy some duties for their own revenues, which have been as hard hit by depression as those of British India. But the broken, irrational alignment of the States makes it also difficult to levy customs even when they want to, and therefore the States naturally have asked for some share in the Imperial customs. But the boot is also on the other leg. The Kathiawar States have ports of ancient origin, and some of these have been developed notably in Jamnagar. Baroda, the port of which the Gaikwar has been developing on the latest lines, has a big future before it. The Paramount Power might like to curtail these activities as it has been losing thereby revenue hitherto calculated as part of its own. But whereas these States are able till the matter is adjusted, to pay nothing towards Imperial customs, inland States are not so blessed, and claim rebate in some form. Travancore and Cochin have the same growing maritime advantages.

The Chambers of Commerce and the Port Trusts who are losing dues and business from the big ports in British India are indignant and call for interference by the Government of India. The question of consignment in bond and

the like, or through transit, is fraught with difficulty as the main railways run up and out of States in a manner difficult to adjust. Further the well known inherent dishonesty of subordinate Indian employees in railway goods and customs departments, as bad in the States as in British India, makes it desirable to have as few dues and complications as possible. There is no country in the world where the lesser palmgreasing is more rampant in such matters than in India.

Another modern matter of great perplexity is the question of the import of Japanese cotton goods and Japan's buying raw cotton in India. There is the competition with Lancashire, and for India there is the competition with local cotton mills. There are also the problems connected with the spiteful boycott which Congress has found so ready a weapon of peevishness and which they and other agitators will be quite ready to use against Princes' States that incur their displeasure.

There are thus many complex fiscal and trading matters, which can only be adequately dealt with in a Federal Legislature empowered by the States to thrash out such matters. In fact a further trouble is the question of smuggling goods that have entered India by a State port on lesser dues than levied at Imperial ports. Only by identical dues at State or Imperial ports apart from who is to enjoy the proceeds can this be avoided.

THE PRINCES AND THE CONGRESS

It is convenient to include within the term 'Congress' all the submersive elements and bile-producers, communists such as the unfortunate products of English schools on an over-developed bile-duct, and the young Indian revolutionaries who study in Moscow, and during the War fled to rebellion centres at Kabul. They are one and all anathema to the Princes, and Congress

members and revolutionary leaders, or rather arguers, are at times unsparing in reviling the Princes. Apart from the blackmailing by the lesser press, the press of the Swaraj and Congress-boosting type, are unflagging in their abuse. Kipling in one of his stories ('The man that would be a King') speaks of the European loafer who had heard of a Rajah who had filled his mother-in-law with red-pepper and wanted to get blackmail for silence, and the Press of that type work to this day, despite legislation to put a stop to it passed in Lord Reading's day. Unfortunately Princes are loath to take advantage of that Act from dislike of the undignified personalities often involved. Where, by chance, there is any basis for scandal the Congress-wallah is more than active in his desire to discredit the Princes' rule as such.

There is further a constant search for any slogan or suggestion that might arouse the resentment of the Princes against the Paramount. Some such incident as the 'greased cartridge', which gave fuel to a stirring up of the Bengal Army, would be welcome a thousand-fold to such. At the present time, insidious matter of this kind is always on foot, while equally can agitators, through the uncontrollable agency of the religious mendicant real or assumed, spread every evil story, and suggestion, that can make trouble in a State. In a land where false accusation and false suggestion can run riot and are never absent, the Imperial and the Princes' powers are constantly assailed. But because the Princes are far less squeamish than the British Government, and have prompt and effective measures ready, such evil has to run more underground than the patience of John Bull calls for.

Those who like to sit in the past-master's chair and watch the younger world at play will have plenty to amuse them in the next few years in the inevitable pull-devil, pull-baker that lies ahead.

CHAPTER XIII

FROM ROUND TABLE TO FEDERATION

The First Round Table. The Meaning of Federal Government in India. The Princes' Attitude Generally. The Demur of 1935. The Draft Instrument of Accession (Special White Paper of 1935).

THE FIRST ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

THE first serious steps to endeavour to place some form of coping stone on the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, and to crown our great work of rebuilding the crashed Turkish Empire of India, was the famous summoning of the Round Table Conference. It was rightly described as a unique occasion, and round its outskirts flocked a most remarkable journalistic entourage, still stirred by the remembrance of the Fourteen Points, some hoping they were witnessing the suicide of an Empire. Among the representatives of India were some of the leading princes, and the dramatic feature of the first assembly was their unexpected declaration that they were quite ready to take a share in a Federation of India. This was a considerable *volte-face* from what was believed to be their inclination, and it was said to be due to consternation at the mental attitude to world and Imperial problems held by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the Premier (before the days of the National Government) and Mr. Wedgwood Benn, then Secretary of State for India. The representative Princes declared themselves ready to take part in a scheme of Federation. This attitude was also said to be due to a fear that they might find India dancing to destruction in the hands of the classes they most disliked and despised. Put into more select phrase, it was said that they found they must think in terms of modern popular politics. The reasonable assumption is that they really found that India must be gripped and steadied, and in this they found the wiser politicians with them. Further they were fortified by the report of the Indian States Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler, which was quite unequivocal

as to their independent position vis-à-vis an Indian Government.

It seems ridiculous to-day that the Press should have made such a fuss, and the American Press always sentimental and seemingly anxious to push the British Empire down the road of dissolution, made overmuch of it. The town planners of states waxed enthusiastic. The more sober-minded among the British sat down to see how the world could be made better and the Empire stronger. The opportunists thought of a millennium, and the jugglers—they who had been keeping the balls of India in the air without a drop, shouted for joy.

But when it came to the hard task of implementing an enthusiasm, it was evident that there was not so much in the matter after all. For a couple of generations it had been evident that some day the time would be ripe for a better blending of the material of India, a rearranging of the structure which British courage, enterprise and wisdom had saved from ruin. It was not unwise to say that the time had come. Further, owing to the state of mind into which Britain and her public men are apt to fall for a while, the strange Bengal murder hysteria, which showed signs of spreading, fanned by the thoughtless ineptitudes of Bapoo Gandhi, had produced in India a situation that authority was afraid to face, save by concessions. Concessions are good only if the time is ripe, and if the foundations can be made sound.

Ingenuous Britons put forward yet another point of view, and said, 'let these political lawyers and what-nots vent their energy and abuse on each other rather than on us. Therefore, as we are about to devise a new constitution in which the real India, and the real spirit of the people is more truly represented, let us bring the Princes and the peoples of the States in as a conservative and wiser make-weight.'

Undoubtedly in the trouble of the moment, the idea of the Princes and the peoples of Princes' India as a counter-

balance to save India wrecking herself, and an opportunity of escaping from communism and the bitter side of Brahminism, was attractive enough. Thus we saw the long cherished vision of constructive statesmanship, of a Government in which the Princes took their share, which had remained in the background till the time should ripen, marrying the daughter of political expediency. The idea that advance without the Princes is unthinkable, unites with the opportunism that welcomes a form of escape from a bad situation. Of such conjunctures, perhaps, are great world movements born.

Assuming for the moment, which many good judges still doubt, that India is fit for the new model, and that the change can be tried without Britain having to intervene to put the clock back, it must be admitted that the framework and detail of the new India Act, which will shortly be described especially in its relation to the Princes, is a marvellous piece of work. We may, if we have any knowledge of statecraft in the higher sense of the phrase, 'take off our hats' to the courage with which the task was undertaken. In giving effect to all changes and new ideas, the drafting is the acid test. "See how it looks on paper, see how you can put your ideas into law and rule." As often as not the enthusiast finds that his theories will not fit into any practicable form.

It has now been done with mighty labour and communitings, and a study of the Act will show what an essential part in the Federal side of the new Constitution Princes are.

Between the First Round Table Conference and the passing of the Act great spates of water have flowed. Two more Round Table Conferences, a Joint Committee of both Houses, and fierce debates, have done much towards the refining of the original ore of the 'White Paper'. In that perhaps some clever soul cast dross, in order that the refiners might be kept busy. However that may be, it is accepted that the Bill was much less crude and harmful than the

White Paper, and the Act was an improvement on the Bill. And indeed with all the endeavours aforesaid, this was only to be expected.

THE MEANING OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN INDIA

We might for a moment with profit, consider what in the case of India Federalization, or Federalism, means. In the normal acceptance of the word, it implies that self-governing sovereign bodies combine to set up a central co-ordinating body, that shall deal with certain of the functions of government for the good of the combining whole. Those who have so deplored the basis of the India Act, have quite rightly pointed out that neither the Provinces nor the Princes are sufficiently independent as to have the power to cede any share of their rights to a central government. Those who thus argue, however, have forgotten the right of the Crown to make them so, and the magic wand the Crown can wield. The Princes already have a certain independence under their treaty rights and historical position, but not enough for the purpose. The Provinces have none, but the Crown can and for the purpose of Federalization will, by the stroke of the pen declare them sovereign bodies for the purpose of signing instruments of accession.

Now the Princes will only accept the Federation if they are quite sure that it means no more than it says. It is in their anxiety in this direction that the discussion as to the meaning of "Paramountcy," and "Supremacy" when applied to their position and rights, has arisen.

They demand that the federal government shall have no power to interfere with or criticize their affairs, and their internal administration. That, as heretofore, is the prerogative of the Governor-General, as representing not Parliament alone, but the Crown in person, with the Council.

That means that the Princes will transfer control in

regard to certain matters to the federal government and agree to a continuance of the control exercised by the central government in other matters and will also transfer a few of their present rights, in view of the change of times, to the new government. In return for this they will send representatives in considerable proportions to the upper and lower chambers at Delhi.

What will this government consist in? It will consist of the Governor-General, with special powers in certain circumstances, a Council of State or upper chamber, and a Federal Assembly. The Council of State like the House of Lords, is permanent, but changes periodically, not by the process of mortality and new creations, but by the automatic retirement of a section of its members every few years. The Federal Assembly will consist of members elected by the Provinces and nominated by the Princes.

This lower house will have a fixed life, unless constitutionally dissolved, and will be the House of Commons of India without, however, the same over-riding authority. In both chambers there will be representatives of the Princes in suitable numbers. The details of the actual Act will be referred to in the next chapter. A pre-requisite to the institution of a federal constitution is the adherence of a sufficient number of the Princes to make the principle assured. An outline of the conditions is also given in the next chapter.

THE PRINCES' ATTITUDE GENERALLY

The whole question of the Princes joining the Federation is wrapt up in the strictly legal meaning of what it is they accept. Their doubts produced the 'Demur' of 1935, about to be described, to the draft Bill. In plain English, they felt, and it is still to be seen whether Sir Samuel Hoare's promises and some modification of the final Act and wording of the 'Instrument' have relieved their doubts,

that they were being ejected from their time-honoured status.¹ Those doubts have been stimulated not only by the articles in the Indian Press, which does not mean very much, but by similar suggestions in British journals, which should have been wiser, that the federal principle will ere long result in the elimination of them and their authority, or their reduction to that shadow which is, probably wrongly, described by them as 'constitutional monarchy.'

Now the Princes know that our Socialists would like to place them on a slippery plank down which they could be urged almost yearly, slowly, deliberately, and of malice aforethought. Did the Princes feel sure that England would always be in the hands of educated and reasonable parties, such as would be understood by the Conservative or Liberal parties of happier days, they would no doubt be less tenacious in their insistence that their position should be defined beyond possibility of misunderstanding and encroachment. The study of many matters which their Highnesses or Government have wished to have examined, during the incubation of the Bill, has shown that in the general relationship between the States and the supreme power there have been i's never dotted and t's never crossed.

For generations there have been certain points at issue between some of the Princes and the supreme government, which has given new rulings and upheld earlier ones, that, rightly or wrongly, have seemed to the Princes unfair, or which, if fair enough, have nevertheless bulked as a perpetual grievance. It will be remembered that during the debates on the India Bill Mr. Winston Churchill alleged that the Princes were being bribed to support it. This Sir Samuel Hoare indignantly denied. But if Mr. Churchill had alleged that some of the old cases were being reconsidered with a modified governmental attitude, he would have been nearer the mark. The Secretary of State might equally have then

¹ The revised draft 'Instrument' is given at the end of this chapter, and would seem to have embodied Sir Samuel Hoare's promised amendments.

admitted the allegation, and disarmed it by saying that circumstances alter cases. The rendition to Mysore of the area adjoining the military cantonment of Bangalore, so objected to by the European and Anglo-Indian residents, would be a case in point.

During the throes of preparing the India Bill, many rifts within the lute have occurred. The Viceroy was accused in 1933 of having so snubbed the Maharaja Ranjhit Singhi as to cause him to die of heart shock. The story was quite unfounded, save that His Excellency had occasion in the Chamber to remind the Prince that the points he was raising were at that moment, outside the matter in hand. That Ranjhit Singhi should have passed away almost immediately after was but a pathetic coincidence.

Tempers in the Chamber of Princes at times ran high, and several of the more important did resign therefrom, more or less for reasons connected with paramountcy, it being a body with which they might, or might not, associate themselves at will. We may now glance at the demur referred to, and the Secretary of State's detailed discussion on the matter, and his assurances and measures to give effect thereto.

THE DEMUR OF THE PRINCES IN 1935

This is the story of the demur of the Princes which caused such a stir in February 1935. The debate on the Bill was not over, and in the view of its influential opponents, Government had bludgeoned too freely with their vast uninterested majority. At that moment, by one of those mysterious and paralysing press leakages, similar to that which recently put Mr. Baldwin in so unenviable and undignified a position, and caused the country the loss of Sir Samuel Hoare as Foreign Minister, took place. A meeting of the chief ministers of the important states was discussing in Bombay the proposed Bill and the draft Instrument of Accession to the Federation that the Princes

would be asked to make. It appeared, at first, that the ministers had challenged many points and practically advised the Princes to have nothing to do with it till many controversies had been cleared up. There was a pretty stir, all the more fun to the Bill's opponents, since Sir Samuel had not always borne good-humouredly with the objectors.

Telegrams between Viceroy, Princes, Secretary of State, and who not, flew about. The main documents involved were the report of ministers and Princes assembled at Bombay and a joint letter from their Highnesses the Maharajahs of Patiala (Chairman of the Chamber of Princes) and Bikanir, and the Nawab of Bhopal, to the Viceroy through the Foreign Secretary. Their Highnesses explained that there was no intention of going back on their general assent to join in a federation, but that several points as now presented were unacceptable; that they did not agree that the British Parliament had power to bind them; that they wanted their points fully considered, and these, together with their objections to the wording of the draft Instrument of Accession, put at once before the Secretary of State. There was, of course, a good deal of malicious or mistaken Press writing, and the dovecots of both Delhi and Whitehall were greatly fluttered for a while. Eventually, Sir Samuel Hoare was able to say that almost all the points that were pertinent to the Bill would either be met in the final passing of the Act or the drafting of the Instrument; that there was very little disagreement with the Princes in principle, and that most of the objections were questions of drafting.

The reports and telegrams, with the points raised and Sir Samuel's reply to them were published in a Special White Paper a few weeks later,¹ and can be fully studied. The White Paper is of the greatest interest as showing what was in the Princes' minds, and what were the points con-

¹ Some important extracts therefrom are given in Appendix II.

sidered vital, and how generally, the Secretary of State was prepared to meet them.

In paragraphs 11 and 15 however the three Princes mentioned did seem to be holding a pistol to the Secretary of State's head, as both said that the Princes generally could not accept the Act and the Instrument unless certain questions regarding paramountcy and other disputed claims were settled to their satisfaction. They also said it had been understood that the Instrument would also be a treaty reaffirming their positions vis-à-vis the Crown.

To this Sir Samuel very properly replied that he could not believe that their Highnesses "had any intention of questioning their relations with the King Emperor. This is a matter which admits of no dispute." He also showed that Paramountcy is almost untouched by the Bill. ("The Bill contemplates that certain subjects which had previously been determined between the States and the Paramount Power will in future be regulated, to the extent that States accede to the Federation, by the legislative and executive authority of the Federation, but in other respects Paramountcy (and in all respects as regards non-federating States), will be essentially unaffected by the Bill.") He then proceeded to say that while recognizing the necessity of clarifying certain practices in regard to Paramountcy, and other outstanding claims of individual States, such cannot be determined by whether States do or do not Federate. He concluded by rejoicing that the Princes' lawyers and the parliamentary draftsmen were to meet to clear up difficulties of drafting on those points on which the principle was *not* in dispute. The sum total was that all the Princes' objections would be met and that there was no sort of wish to introduce any new conditions.

This White Paper, apart from the merits of the particular issues raised, does show again how anxious the Princes were to assure themselves that they were not to be asked to sit on a slippery plank down which successive Parliaments,

Viceroy and Secretaries of State, and general 'liberalization' might tend to push them.

In this connection, before leaving the matter, it may also be recorded that the Secretary of State offered to insert in the Bill a clause that nothing in the Act would affect the engagements of the Crown outside the federal sphere. He also said that if any States were anxious to have their engagements with the Crown reaffirmed, he would consider how best to do it, but that this would come more suitably in some extra-statutory form, possibly in the Instruments of Accession.

In the next chapter, the actual effect of the Act, passed since the discussions revealed in this White Paper took place, will be referred to.¹

DRAFT INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION (Special White Paper of 1935)

*(This form will require adaptation to certain States
with limited powers)*

Whereas proposals for the establishment of an Indian Federation, comprising such Indian States as may accede thereto and the Provinces of British India constituted as autonomous Provinces, have been discussed between representatives of His Majesty's Government, of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, of British India and of the Princes and Rulers of the Indian States.

And whereas a Constitution for a Federation of India has been approved by Parliament and embodied in the Government of India Act 1935, but it is by that Act provided that the Federation shall not be established until such dates as His Majesty may by proclamation declare.

¹ At the time of writing it should be explained it is not known how far the meeting of the Princes' views, as explained by the Secretary of State, and included in the Act, will induce them to join the Federation.

And whereas the Act cannot apply to any of the territories of A.B. save with his consent and concurrence :

And whereas A.B., in the exercise of the sovereignty in and over X. in him vested, is desirous of acceding to the said Federation :

1. Now, therefore, A.B. hereby declares that, subject to His Majesty's assent, he accedes to the Federation, and subject always to the terms of this Instrument declares his acceptance of the provisions of the said Act as applicable to his State and to his subjects with the intent that His Majesty the King, the Governor-General of India, the Federal Legislature, the Federal Court and any other Federal authority established for the purposes of the Federation may exercise in relation to his State and to his subjects such functions as may be vested in them by or under the said Act, in so far as the exercise thereof is not inconsistent with any of the provisions of this Instrument.

2. And A.B. hereby declares that he accepts the matters specified in the First Schedule to this Instrument as the matters with respect to which the Federal Legislature shall have power to make laws in relation to his State and to his subjects, but subject in each case to the conditions and limitations, if any, set out in the said Schedule.

3. And A.B. hereby declares that he assumes the obligation of ensuring that due effect is given to the provisions of the said Act within the territories of his State, so far as they are applicable therein by virtue of this Instrument.

4. And A.B. hereby declares that the privileges and immunities, as defined in Part VII of the said Act (see Section 147 as dealt with in Chapter IX of this book), which are enjoyed by his State, are those specified in the Third Schedule to this Instrument, that the annual values thereof, so far as they are not fluctuating or uncertain, are those specified in the said Schedule, and that he agrees

that the values to be attributed to such of them as are fluctuating or uncertain in value shall be determined from time to time in accordance with the provisions of that Schedule.

5. And A.B. agrees that this Instrument shall be binding on him as from the date on which His Majesty signifies his acceptance thereof, provided that if the said Federation is not established before the — day of nineteen hundred and thirty , this Instrument shall, on that day, become null and void for all purposes whatsoever.

6. And A.B. hereby declares that save as otherwise expressly provided in this Instrument he reserves the sovereignty in and over X. in him vested.

7. And A.B. hereby declares that he makes these declarations for himself, his heirs and successors, and that accordingly any reference in this Instrument to A.B., is to be construed as including a reference to his heirs and successors.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PRINCES AND THEIR FUTURE IN THE NEW PATTERN

Federation. Representation in the Federal Assembly. Possible Troubles Ahead. The Princes of the Future. The Outstanding Importance of the British Crown. The Fair Horizon.

FEDERATION

THE India Act has now passed the British Parliament, after four years of discussion, and many parliamentary polemics. Assuming that the basis of the whole conception is on the right lines, it is a very wonderful piece of work, but until the Princes elect to adhere in the proportions explained, it is but a dream.¹

The making of a federation, under semi-self-government, of this enormous continent of 340 million people must be a problem. The existence of all the different peoples and at times fiercely antagonistic religions, with the fact of the Princes' States, constitute a problem that from any point of view is baffling. The great peace, prosperity, and content, that the British have created and maintained during the last hundred years is alone a marvel, of which posterity will have much to say. Compared with it, the little mistakes and ineptitudes alluded to here, and at the time seem so grave, are trivial enough.

The grave dissatisfaction voiced by several of the Princes, shewn in the Special White Paper of 1935, having been presumably overcome by the wording of the revised Instrument, it will be interesting to watch the unfolding of the new system as it gradually emerges from the envelope. The more the warp and weft are studied the more it is evident that what the peripatetic British journalists of lesser mentalities, have joyfully hailed as the end of 'The Raj' and their special bugbear the *Pukka Sahib* (whatever they mean by it), has by no means arrived. The Raj, that is to say the Government by Crown and Legislature has merely

¹ Writing in January, 1936.

broadened in accordance with what, it is hoped, is the adequate development of the people. In the federal structure it will be more and more evident that the Princes' States and the Princes' influence will serve to balance a westernism that may easily grow rank and unsuitable, and preserve all that is real and worthy in the old life and spiritualities of the East.

They will surely run through the whole structure in its major issues as the iron frame runs through ferro-concrete.

We may best follow the new system in a series of question and answer.

(i) When does the Federal Government come into being ?

The answer to this is furnished by the Act, His Majesty may by proclamation declare a date from which the Governors and Chief Commissioners' Provinces of India and the States which have agreed or may hereafter agree to join, shall be united in a Federation under the Crown, subject to certain conditions contained in the Act, from which date the Federal Government will be conducted as laid down, therein. The conditions include a petition from both Houses of Parliament. (Section 5.)

(ii) What is the condition just referred to ?

It is that sufficient States shall have acceded to enable the rulers thereof to appoint 52 Federal representatives to the Upper Chamber, i.e., The Council of State, under the conditions contained in the First Schedule to the Act. Added to this is a further condition, that in addition to the preceding, the aggregate population of the acceding States, must equal at least half of the total population of all the States. It will be noticed that this is the Act, and is not 'a condition to be modified by the Crown.' The indispensable minimum is thus given, it is of course expected that there will be many more acceders and a far bigger proportion of the population involved.

(iii) What does the ruler accede to on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors ?

He agrees to accept the Federation as established under this Act, viz., the King, the Governor-General, the Federal Legislature (Federal Assembly and Council of State), the Federal Court and any other authority established for the purposes of the Federation. He does this by the Instrument of Accession, and his acceptance of all these authorities is qualified by the terms thereof. There is also a qualification that the powers shall only be used by the Federal Legislature for the purpose of the Federation.

He will also undertake to implement the provisions of the Act so far as they are applicable. It is, however, specially enacted that a ruler's accession may be bound by the condition that unless the Federation does actually come into force by a certain date it shall lapse.

The Instrument of Accession may specify which of the Federal Government Legislature's powers he accepts for application to his State, but it is also laid down that His Majesty need not accept an Instrument, and that till such has been accepted, a State does not become a Federated State. Such refusal would refer presumably to an unduly restricted Instrument.

(iv) What are the subjects over which the Federation will have authority, and to which a ruler's 'Instrument' signifies adherence ?

The answer here is, all those subjects in the Federal Legislative List, that is to say, List I. in the Seventh Schedule, subject to any special provisos in his accepted Instrument.

(v) Of what general nature are these subjects ?

The total number of subjects involved are fifty and nine, but very many do not affect the States at all. The general description would be that those matters with which the Government of India now deals are those dealt with by the Federal Legislature, save the subject of Defence, and

the Army, Foreign relations and a few others, reserved for the Viceroy alone. The subjects which the Princes are asked to concede are matters which they have in many cases already agreed on, such as Federal Railways, Major ports, certain Tariffs and Taxes, the sanitary and drug traffic rules of the civilized world etc. The matter of tariffs controversy has already been referred to. Speaking generally it will be noticed how few are the matters on which the States make surrenders. This is partly because many matters have long ago been settled, and the Federation but takes over from the present Government. Controversy may more easily arise as to definition and classification in the future as to *Federal railways or major ports*.

REPRESENTATION IN THE FEDERAL LEGISLATURE

When we come to the matter of the representation of the States in the two Chambers of the Federal Legislature, we find from the Fifth Schedule to the Act that there will be in the Council of State 263 members, assuming that the Princes accede sufficiently to get the full representation and that of this number 156 will come from British India, and 107 from the States. It has been already explained that unless accessions earning 52 representations are accepted, there will be no federation.

Similarly for a full Federal Assembly, there will be 375 members, of whom 250 will come from British India, and a maximum of 125 will come from the States. The minimum follows of course, automatically from the conditions referred to for the Council of State for the inception of the Federation, and will be in much the same proportion.

The Rulers themselves will nominate their representatives in both Chambers, while as will be seen from the Schedules, the lesser States are grouped and each group has one or more representatives who will come from each State in rotation.

POSSIBLE TROUBLES AHEAD

Even assuming that the Parliamentary system which the India Act is to inaugurate works reasonably, and that there is no fierce unconstitutional struggle by the Congress and the old-time revolutionaries inspired by Congresses to produce a crisis, there are said to be many troubles ahead for the States whether they accede or whether they remain as now.

It may be assumed that the wording of the Instruments of Accession will be made as satisfactory to the Princes as Sir Samuel Hoare has promised,¹ and that the bulk, if not all, will accept the Federation.

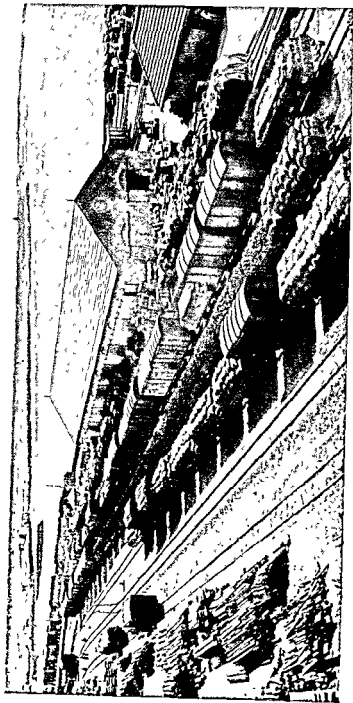
It is accepted that the Princes shall govern their States in their own way, untrammelled by anything save advice from the Governor-General,² always provided there shall not be serious misgovernment.

The great States shall not be under duress to copy the system in the provinces, if they do not wish. It is the rulers who shall say what they wish and not their people. The Government must be for the people, but not by the people, unless the rulers so prefer. The comment that some old and cynical hand might make is "and very nice too."

In British India the small percentage who have English education of the 'intelligentzia' kind, who are largely outside the land-owning classes, and apart from those whose hand has kept their head through the generations, has bound the agitators, and in Bengal stimulated the murder cult. But the great cities in which such exist, and where the *pleader, and the university-trained young men with no adequate prospects*, are to be found are not confined entirely to British India. The larger States have several great cities, which produce folk of the same kidney, and

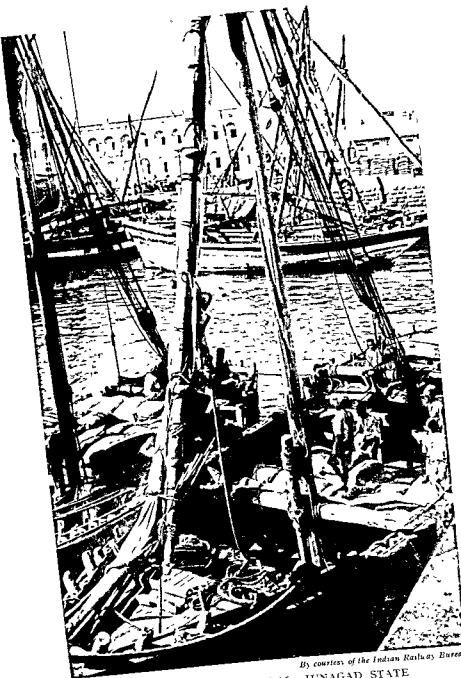
¹ The draft 'instrument' giving his first revision has been given in the previous chapter.

² Even here the Princes raised the point of 'advice', as *infringing their charters*, but paramountcy can expect no limit in this matter.



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

THE PORT OF VERAVAL, JUNAGADH STATE



By courtesy of the Indian Railway Bureau

THE PORT OF VERAVAL JUNAGAD STATE
(West coast of India)

much the same agitations simmer there, though 'p's and q's' are more carefully minded. It is often agitation for agitation's sake. The Princes have no intention of allowing it to go too far. In the background is always some authoritative and prompt action likely, if not quite so severe as Pertab's "first filling with pepper, then hanging."

Many of the Princes, nay most of the Princes, are wise in their generation, they will march some way with the times, if they consider the necessity is real, and indeed are anxious enough for contentment and reasonable progress. The East, however, is supreme in its instinct for intrigue. In the past the art of false report has been responsible for many of the troubles in which Princes and the British Government have been involved. No class has been better at this than disgruntled members of the ruling family, or collateral branches with ambitions. False charges, false hints, false suggestions, are their stock in trade. Both these and the Moscow-trained revolutionary who has been just as anxious to get busy in the States as in British India, are always in the offing.

Once a ruler is supposed to be in the Paramount's black books, stories spring up on all sides. Intrigues and plotters would be quite capable of getting up a rebellion in the State (indeed have often done so) and force the support of State troops by British ones for the sake of getting a ruler deposed. To-day, such matters can be handled reasonably well. But an atmosphere can easily be created that is likely to result in attempts to interfere in the Federal Assembly.

The Indian Press, except a few of the better papers, can be scandalous and revolutionary beyond belief. Their revenue often comes from the advertisement of aphrodisiacs 'gold-coated for Chievers (*sic*)' and by blackmail. Blackmailing the Princes in British Indian rags has been as just mentioned a favourite pastime. Because the Viceroy had promised the Chiefs that steps should be taken to stop it, Lord Reading had to pass the special law in the teeth of his earlier Assembly, which had rejected it. Stories that

are false are bad enough, those that have some foundation in fact are worse.

If the Press in a Prince's State itself were to start the same, their shrift would be short enough, but circumstances can be imagined that might give great trouble in the future. The Princes want to be quite sure they will be supported. Unfortunately no cast-iron guarantee can be given.

There is another source of trouble, in the fact that rulers and princes are not always of the same faith as the bulk of their people. Hindu chiefs rule a State with many Moslem subjects, as in Kashmir; more often it is the other way about. In Hyderabad, as explained, we have a Moslem ruler, ruling wisely enough it is admitted, but ruling over a Hindu people, his towns and suburbs alone holding the bulk of the old foreign elements which supported his original authority. For generations in the Princes' States, the British example was resolutely followed, religious enmity was sternly repressed and genially discouraged. But the political development of India has revived them in surprising bitterness, and has been so tense that constantly the bayonets of British soldiers alone have saved bloodshed. They have not always been in time to do even that, as witness the terrible Cawnpore drama of 1931. So acute, a year or two later, did Moslem intrigue in British India directed against Kashmir become, that its Hindu province and winter capital of Jammu was invaded by masses of enthusiastic and fanatical Moslems from the British side of the border and a strong force of British-Indian troops had to come to the support of the State troops. There was some basis for discontent, due to the policy of withholding the Residents' advice and interference being carried too far. The situation which was dangerous and ludicrous, can easily occur again, and may appear elsewhere in somewhat similar guise.

Some of the younger Princes curiously enough pick up in their earlier college contacts, the same sort of socialist

ideas as for a while gripped the young Knebworth. To them, no doubt, more experience will bring better judgment. It may make them fiercely dictators, and in any case it is an interesting phenomenon. It should in most cases, happily mature into a general desire to produce such liberal (in the non-political sense) conditions, as their people may be fitted for.

Nothing is more unlikely to produce trouble than socialist writers in this country continually prophesying that the Indian rulers are doomed. To many of us on the contrary they seem to be likely to preserve much that is good and unique in the life and spirit of what was a high civilization when Alexander of the Two Horns crossed the Indus.

THE PRINCES OF THE FUTURE

What will be the Princes of the Future, and the Future of the Princes, many ask? Happy in the assumption that India will work the Constitution¹ we can believe that she will not only work it but support the Governors and the Governor-General and the Princes, in stamping out the Bengal disease especially if it appear elsewhere. There can be no room on the road to happiness for that strange murder cult. It is worth while remarking here, that it may be in essence, as some say, but the recrudescence of the ancient contemptuous Brahmin spirit that after long exile to the forests and the pot-holes of the desert, during the cycles that India listened to the teachings of the Buddha, finally succeeded in regaining its influence. Supreme once again, it fell before ruthless idol-hating Islam, and bruised and suppressed for centuries has broken from underground, during the kindly helpful British days, and now runs wild

¹ Lord Willingdon's despatch of October, 1935, warning all and sundry on the great danger and troubles ahead, of sedition, revolutionary activity is an astonishing and rather pitiful commentary on the 'atmosphere' under which the Act will come into being. His farewell message is also emphatic.

from fear and unreason. May be ! But all the same till it be scotched or sublimated nothing can be really well.

If as the optimists declare and all men hope, the new rigged ship can sail the surface happily, it will be at any rate, largely due to the Princes. They will be able to bring to the Federal politics the judgment of the men of property and wisdom who in all countries spread the network and handle the framework of prosperity, who alone can make two blades of corn grow where none grew before, unless the wise old world has been wrong since time was. Property and status will through them have sufficient but not untrammelled say, and conservatism, in the best sense of that word, will be able to balance a ship that might otherwise prove too unstable. The weight of the Princes' States added to interweaving of British authority and assistance in the Federal machine should be able to hold in restraint this Bengal disease despite its foothold in other parts of India.

It has been said that the Princes have three loyalties over and above their overriding loyalty that they have for the Crown, *firstly* to their own State, *secondly* to their own order, *thirdly* to India generally. The modern prince has the loyalties in this order ; in days gone by it may be said that he held his own order first and his State second. The cult of India as a whole, is a very doubtful product. India is too large and varying a country for such, but modern sentiment, has no doubt been stimulated by means not always sterling, to produce a reverence and consideration for India with a big 'I'. The Hindu social order, so far as Hindu Princes are concerned, is probably a better definition of one of their loyalties, than 'India'. It is hard to hold in great devotion an India of 340 millions, yet the idea of one 'India' has possibilities of growth. Under happy Federal auspices the Federalism of India may well stimulate the conception.

Reference has already been made to the education of the sons of Princes, those for whom Eton and Harrow, Oxford

and Cambridge is not chosen, and the various chiefs' colleges in which Lord Curzon and indeed all his successors as well as the greater Princes, have taken so much interest. They are of more importance every year, especially when Moslem and Hindu youth actuated by the natural indifference of the young to deeper religious thought, declare, as they are now so apt to do, that nothing matters. For Moslem and Hindu to sink their inherent animosity is good, but to do so because they think religions don't matter, is an indication of the loss of the old rule of life with nothing better in its place. The best way to fit the scions of the thrones for their place in a world that is yearly more complicated is no easy problem for the Chamber of Princes to solve. Sir William Barton refers somewhat grimly to the view of some of them, that Boy Scouts and elderly British Commissioners in shorts in the colleges, is not quite what is wanted.

Such trifles, however, are but the bumps and turns in a drivable road. *Mulk-geri* and freebooting being out of date, and military service not easy to arrange, games and shikar are where the scions of the thrones can graduate till they develop the dignity and balance that should grace a prince, and give the nearest approach to those ways that kept the noble from wasting, as the Peace will allow.

The duties of both rulers and those who are *nazdik*,¹ in the future will be no easy matter, for dictators must be fit to dictate. Those who know the charm of character of young princes, have always wanted the wisest and highest training for them.

So much for the Princes of the future, the future of the Princes is wrapt up in the whole question of their status in the warp and weft of Federal India, discussed in these last few chapters.

¹ Literally 'near', i.e., closely related to the throne.

THE OUTSTANDING IMPORTANCE OF THE BRITISH CROWN

In all this important matter of the weaving of the complete pattern, and the essential place that the Princes and their States are to have therein, when it finally comes from the loom, the importance of the Crown stands out most markedly. The question of Paramountcy, involving protection as well as the responsibility inherent, is the foundation stone of the Federation in the Princes side as well as that of all India. There has been much rather futile talk as to 'Dominion Status' whatever that may mean. But Dominion Status refers even in the case of the most populous, Canada, to but ten millions almost all Christian and, though not racially all British yet to all intents and purposes so, to six million British Australians and to New Zealand with a million and a half. The strange continental status of India with its territory and population as large as Europe less Russia, and far less homogeneous, does not fit within the four walls of such a phrase, nor the peculiar conditions attaching thereto. It was used by Lord Irwin as some sort of sop to excited politicians with a limited vocabulary. The States of India will need a new and infinitely larger name. It is and must remain not the Indian Dominion, but the Indian Empire, and the cement is the Crown. In the Federation the Crown constitutionally, and for the Princes the Crown fortified by something else besides, something intangible but quite definite in its effect and results, is the indispensable binder. The Paramountcy question relieves the Princes of all fear of outside interference, save that of the march of time and the change of men's minds, if so be men's minds do really change. Those who imagine the Princes as dictators with no restraints, should remember that it is only the new dictator, the *do ek paise wallah*, the sixpenny demagogues, that are ruthless and unmanageable. Old dictators, old absolute monarchs, have a very strong band of their own

public opinion, their own clansmen, nobles and people, which tells them exactly where they 'get off.' In old established States, there is a subtle machinery which suggests 'you can't do that there 'ere', that is usually effective enough.

The Crown behind the Princes, that must bear the brunt of attacks on them, both malicious and unnecessary and sometimes otherwise, will know where to make the suggestion as it has done any time these last hundred years and all that is necessary is that the purely secretarial mind shall not be allowed to wrap itself too much in precedent and homogeneity when it puts up its cases to the Crown and the Crown's representatives. The Chamber of Princes, which will still remain, will give the arena for Princes who feel any swathing of red tape becoming too tight.

The Princes in whom wisdom is inherent will, while planning still further the doses of progress for their State, hold fast by the Crown, and all that it means for them.

The Crown in the person of King George was an ideal entity to guide the chivalrous and high minded Princes, and there is every reason to believe that King Edward will adequately and sympathetically fill the throne of King-Emperor in times ahead, in which his responsibility to India may be greater than in the past.

THE FAIR HORIZON

A remarkable horizon has been shown both to British India and to the ancient India of the States. It has been said by some that it is a fair weather vista, and that there is ample time and opportunity for those who wish for storms. That is so ; but who bothers about storms when the sun shines. If the Federation and the developed constitution is worked with good will, we shall see a fair picture, and the clarity and beauty thereof will largely depend on the good influence, and ballast that the Princes can bring into the

Ship of State. It is not to be doubted that they will bring it, and be an invaluable reminder to the other India, of tradition and chivalry.

Whether as many for a while fondly hoped the spectre of war can be banished from the world, or whether it must stay and surge on us when least wanted, the position of India within the British Empire—a term more inspiring than the Fabian phrase of ‘Commonwealth’, however much the common weal may be the concern of all—is dominating and should be unassailable. The strategic position of the Indian Continent in the centre of the peace and war routes of the world is commanding, and given good will and good working, there is no happening and no trading in which India’s part cannot be a vital factor in the world’s good. The placing of the coping stone on the centuries work of British rebuilding, now depends on how the cement will hold. It is not too much to say that the Princes States can be the cement while the Crown is the iron framework within the concrete.

Let us then look on that vision of Alfred Lyall, poet and administrator, and finish on the note that he struck :

“ Let the hard earth soften and toil
 bring ease,
 Let the king be just and the laws be strong,
 Ye shall flourish and spread like
 the ancient trees
 And the storms shall end and the
 ancient wrong.”

APPENDIX I

THE PRINCES' STATES AS GROUPED

SHOWING DISTRIBUTION BY AGENCIES WITH PARTICULARS OF AREA,
POPULATION, REVENUE, &c. IN 1933

INDEX TO THE SALUTE STATES

(The References are to the classes in the Appendix.)

Ajaigarh . . .	III 14	Gangpur . . .	V 7	Nagod . . .	III 23
Akalkot . . .	IV 8	Gondal . . .	XI 10	Nandgaon . . .	V 12
Ali Rajpur . . .	III 27	Gwalior . . .	I 5	Narsingarh . . .	III 21
Alwar . . .	X 11	Hyderabad . . .	I 1	Nawanagar . . .	XI 4
Aundh . . .	IV 7	Idar . . .	XI 2	Nayagarh . . .	V 15
Bahawalpur . . .	IX 2	Indore . . .	III 1	Orchha . . .	III 4
Balasinor . . .	VI 8	Jaipur . . .	X 2	Palanpur . . .	X 18
Bamra . . .	V 14	Jaisalmer . . .	XI 10	Palitana . . .	XI 12
Banganapalle . . .	VII 4	Jamkhandi . . .	IV 14	Panna . . .	III 12
Bansda . . .	VI 4	Jammu and Kashmir . . .	I 4	Partabgarh . . .	X 16
Banswara . . .	X 17	Janjira . . .	IV 2	Patiala . . .	IX 1
Baoni . . .	III 16	Jaora . . .	III 10	Patna . . .	V 2
Baraundha . . .	III 22	Jashpur . . .	V II	Phaltan . . .	IV 9
Baria . . .	VI 6	Jath . . .	IV 10	Porbandar . . .	XI 6
Baroda . . .	I 3	Jawhar . . .	VI 11	Pudukkottai . . .	VII 3
Barwani . . .	III 26	Jhabua . . .	III 25	Radhanpur . . .	XI 8
Bashahr . . .	XIV 1	Jhalawar . . .	X 19	Raigarh . . .	V 9
Bastar . . .	V 3	Jind . . .	IX 4	Rajgarh . . .	III 20
Baud . . .	V 18	Jodhpur . . .	X 3	Rajkot . . .	XI 15
Benares . . .	XV 2	Junagadh . . .	XI 3	Rajpipla . . .	VI 1
Bharatpur . . .	X 9	Kalahandi . . .	V 4	Ramdurg . . .	IV 16
Bhavnagar . . .	XI 5	Kalat . . .	II 1	Rampur . . .	XV 1
Bhopal . . .	III 2	Kanker . . .	V 17	Ratlam . . .	III 11
Bhor . . .	IV 6	Kapurthala . . .	IX 6	Rewa . . .	III 3
Bhutan . . .	I 6	Karauli . . .	X 7	Sachin . . .	VI 10
Bijawar . . .	III 15	Keonjhar . . .	V 6	Sailana . . .	III 19
Bikaner . . .	X 5	Khairagarh . . .	V 13	Samthar . . .	III 9
Bilaspur . . .	IX 9	Khairpur . . .	IX 3	Sandur . . .	VII 5
Bundi . . .	X 4	Khilchipur . . .	III 28	Sangli . . .	IV 5
Cambay . . .	VI 2	Kishengarh . . .	X 8	Sant . . .	VI 9
Chamba . . .	IX 12	Kilhapur . . .	IV 1	Sarangarh . . .	V 19
Charkhari . . .	III 13	Korea . . .	V 20	Savanur . . .	IV 11
Chhatarpur . . .	III 17	Kotah . . .	X 6	Sawantwadi . . .	IV 3
Chhota Udepur . . .	VI 5	Kurundwad, Senior . . .	IV 15	Seraikela . . .	V 16
Chitral . . .	VIII 1	Kurundwad, Junior . . .	IV 17	Shahpura . . .	X 20
Cochin . . .	VII 2	Las Bela . . .	II 2	Sikkim . . .	I 7
Cooch Behar . . .	XIII 1	Limbdi . . .	XI 14	Sirmur . . .	IX 7
Cutch . . .	XI 1	Loharu . . .	IX 14	Sirohi . . .	X 14
Danta . . .	X 21	Lunawada . . .	VI 7	Sitamau . . .	III 18
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Dhenkanal . . .	V 8	Miraj, Senior . . .	IV 12	Travancore . . .	VII 1
Dholpur . . .	X 13	Miraj, Junior . . .	IV 13	Tripura . . .	XIII 2
Dhrangadhra . . .	XI 7	Morvi . . .	XI 9	Udaipur . . .	X 1
Dhrol . . .	XI 13	Mudhol . . .	IV 4	Wadhwan . . .	XI 16
Dungarpur . . .	X 15	Mysore . . .	I 2	Wankaner . . .	XI 11
Faridkot . . .	IX 11	Nabha . . .	IX 5		

STATEMENT SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN STATES, WITH PARTICULARS AS TO
AREA, POPULATION, REVENUE, &c.

(Contractions : A.G.G.=Agent to the Governor-General ; P.A.=Political Agent.)

Name of State	Area in Square Miles	Population in 1931	Approx. Revenue in Lakhs	Title of Ruler	Salute of Ruler, in Guns	Designation of Local Political Officer
I.—STATES IN IMMEDIATE POLITICAL RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.						
1. Hyderabad	82,608 ¹	14,436,148 ¹	837.75	Nizam	21	Resident at Hyderabad.
2. Mysore.	29,475	6,557,302	358.34	Maharaja	21	Resident in Mysore.
3. Baroda	8,135	2,443,007	249	Maharaja	21	A.G.G., Gujarat States, and Resident at Baroda.
4. Jammu and Kashmir	85,885	3,646,243	250	Maharaja	21	Resident in Kashmir.
5. Gwalior	26,383	3,523,070	241.79	Maharaja	21	Resident at Gwalior.
6. Bhutan	18,000	300,000	Perhaps about 4	Maharaja	15	Political Officer in Sikkim.
7. Sikkim	2,818	109,808	5.10	Maharaja	15	Do. do.
1 Excluding Berar.						
II.—STATES INCLUDED IN THE BALUCHISTAN AGENCY UNDER THE A.G.G. IN BALUCHISTAN.						
1. Kalat	73,278	342,101	15.10	Khan	19	P.A. in Kalat and P.A. in charge of the Bolan Pass and of the Chagai District.
2. Las Bela	7,132	63,008	3.53	Jam	—	Do. do.

1. Indore .	9,570	1,318,217	136	Maharaja	19 (21 local)	A.G.G. in Central India.
2. Bhopal .	6,902	729,955	62.1	Nawab .	19 (21 local)	P.A. in Bhopal.
3. Rewa .	13,000	1,587,445	60	Maharaja	17	A.G.G. in Central India.
4. Orchha .	2,080	314,661	10.5	Maharaja	15	P.A. in Bundelkhand.
5. Datta .	911	158,834	16	Maharaja	15	Do. do.
6. Dhar .	1,777	243,430	17.6	Maharaja	15	P.A. in S. States of Central India and in Malwa.
7. Dewas (Senior Branch)	449	83,321	9.49	Maharaja	15	Do. do.
8. Dewas (Junior Branch)	419	70,513	6.4	Maharaja	15	Do. do.
9. Samthar .	180	33,307	1.35	Raja .	11	P.A. in Bundelkhand.
10. Jaora .	602	100,166	13.77	Nawab .	13	P.A. in S. States of Central India and in Malwa.
11. Ratlam .	693	107,326	10	Maharaja	13 (15 local)	Do. do.
12. Panna .	2,596	212,130	10.96	Maharaja	11	P.A. in Bundelkhand.
13. Charkhari .	880	120,351	6.69	Maharaja	11	Do. do.
14. Ajaigarh .	802	85,895	4.65	Maharaja	11	Do. do.
15. Bijawar .	973	115,852	3.53	Maharaja	11	Do. do.
16. Baoni .	121	19,132	1.22	Nawab .	11	Do. do.
17. Chhatrapur .	1,130	161,267	5.50	Maharaja	11	Do. do.
18. Sitamau .	201	28,422	2.7	Raja .	11	P.A. in S. States of Central India and in Malwa.
19. Sailana .	297	35,223	3.55	Raja .	11	Do. do.
20. Rajgarh .	962	134,891	11.5	Raja .	11	P.A. in Bhopal.
21. Narsingharh .	734	113,873	9.51	Raja .	11	Do. do.
22. Baraundha .	218	16,071	0.45	Raja .	9	P.A. in Bundelkhand.
23. Nagod .	501	74,589	2.39	Raja .	9	Do. do.
24. Maihar .	407	68,991	3.5	Raja .	9	Do. do.
25. Jhabua .	1,336	145,522	4.4	Raja .	11	P.A. in S. States of Central India and in Malwa.
26. Barwani .	1,178	141,110	11.1	Rana .	11	Do. do.
27. Ali Rajpur .	836	101,963	6.16	Raja .	11	Do. do.
28. Khilchipur .	273	45,583	2.92	Raja .	9	P.A. in Bhopal.
69 Non-Salute States	2,771	280,251	27.37			

Name of State	Area in Square Miles	Population in 1931	Approx. Revenue in Lakhs	Title of Ruler	Salute of Ruler, in Guns	Designation of Local Political Officer
IV.—STATES FORMING THE DECCAN STATES AGENCY UNDER THE A.G.G., DECCAN STATES, AND RESIDENT AT KOLHAPUR.						
1. Kolhapur	3,217	957,137	127.1	Maharaja	19	A.G.G., Deccan States, and Resident at Kolhapur. Do. do.
2. Janjira	377	110,366	8.23	Nawab	11 (13 local)	Do. do.
3. Sawantwadi	925	230,589	6.64	Sar Desai	9 (11 local)	Do. do.
4. Mudhol	368	62,860	5.69	Raja	9	Do. do.
5. Sangli	1,136	258,442	14.68	Raja	9 (11 personal)	Do. do.
6. Bhore	925	141,546	5.63	Pant Sachiv	9	Do. do.
7. Aundh	501	76,507	4.78	Chief	—	Do. do.
8. Akalkot	498	92,636	7.14	Raje Saheb	—	Do. do.
9. Phaltan	397	58,761	3.84	Chief	—	Do. do.
10. Jath	909	90,102	3.12	Chief	—	Do. do.
11. Savanur	70	18,430	2.01	Nawab	—	Do. do.
12. Miraj (Senior)	342	93,957	4.88	Chief	—	Do. do.
13. Miraj (Junior)	197	40,686	3.63	Chief	—	Do. do.
14. Jamkhandi	524	114,282	9.92	Chief	—	Do. do.
15. Kurundwad (Senior)	182	44,251	3.10	Chief	—	Do. do.
16. Ramdurg	169	35,401	2.99	Bhawe	—	Do. do.
17. Kurundwad (Junior)	114	39,563	2.53	Chief	—	Do. do.

Name of State	Area in Square Miles	Population in 1931	Approx. Revenue in Lakhs	Title of Ruler	Salute of Ruler, in Guns	Designation of Local Political Officer
VI.—STATES FORMING THE GUJARAT STATES AGENCY, UNDER THE A.G.G., GUJARAT STATES, AND RESIDENT AT BARODA.						
1. Rajpipla	1,517	206,114	24.11	Maharaja	13	A.G.G., Gujarat States, and Resident at Baroda.
2. Cambay	350	87,761	9.51	Nawab	11	Do.
3. Dharampur	704	112,051	11.7	Raja	9 (11 personal)	Do.
4. Bansda	215	48,807	7.81	Raja	9	Do.
5. Chhota-Udepur	890	144,640	15.85	Raja	9	Do.
6. Baria	813	159,429	12.06	Raja	9 (11 personal)	Do.
7. Lunawada	388	95,162	5.36	Raja	9	Do.
8. Balasinor	189	52,525	2.64	Nawab	9	Do.
9. Sant	394	83,538	5.61	Raja	9	Do.
10. Sachin	49	22,125	4	Nawab	9	Do.
11. Jawhar	310	57,288	5.63	Raja	9	Do.
70 Non-Salute States and Estates	1,680	202,768	12.77	—	—	Do.

VII.—STATES FORMING THE MADRAS STATES AGENCY UNDER THE A.G.G., MADRAS STATES.						
1. Travancore	7,625	5,095,973	248	Maharaja	19	A.G.G., Madras States.
2. Cochin	1,418	1,205,016	84.99	Maharaja	17	Do.
3. Pudukkottai	1,179	400,604	21.73	Raja	11	Do.
4. Banganapalle	255	39,218	4.39	Nawab	9	Do.
5. Sandur	167	13,583	2.43	Raja	—	Do.

VIII.—STATES INCLUDED IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AGENCY UNDER THE GOVERNOR AND A.G.G., NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.			P.A., Dir, Swat and Chitral.	
			Not known	Nawab .
1. Chitral.	4,000		80,000	
4 Non-Salute States	5,004		493,455	22.4

INDEX.—STATES FORMING THE PUNJAB STATES AGENCY UNDER THE A.C.C., PUNJAB STATES.

1. Patiala		5,932	1,625,520	149-83	Maharaja	17 (19 per- sonal & local)	A.G.G., Punjab States.
2. Bahawalpur		15,000	984,612	49-77	Nawab .	17	do.
3. Khairpur		6,050	227,183	17-52	Mir .	15 (17 local)	do.
4. Jind		1,259	324,676	29-32	Maharaja	13 (15 per- sonal & local)	do.
5. Nabha		928	287,574	29-84	Maharaja	13 (15 local)	do.
6. Kapurthala		630	316,757	37	Maharaja	13 (15 per- sonal & local)	do.
7. Sirmur (Nahan)		1,198	148,568	6-05	Maharaja	11	do.
8. Mandi		1,200	207,465	15-39	Raja .	11	do.
9. Bilaspur (Kahlur)		448	100,994	3	Raja .	11	do.
10. Maler Kotla		168	83,072	14-69	Nawab .	11	do.
11. Faridkot		643	164,364	18-97	Raja .	11	do.
12. Chamba		3,216	146,870	8-38	Raja .	11	do.
13. Suket		420	58,408	2-25	Raja .	11	do.
14. Loharu		222	23,338	1-3	Nawab .	9	do.

Name of State	Square Miles	Population in 1931	Revenue in Lakhs	Title of Ruler	Suite of Ruler, in Guns	Designation of Local Political Officer
X.—STATES FORMING THE RAJPUTANA AGENCY UNDER THE A.G.G. IN RAJPUTANA.						
1. Udaipur (Mewar) .	12,915	1,566,910	52.09	Maharana	19 (21 local)	Resident in Mewar and P.A., S. Rajputana States.
2. Jaipur .	16,682	2,631,775	130	Maharaja	17 (19 local)	Resident in Jaipur and the W. States of Rajputana.
3. Jodhpur (Marwar) .	35,066	2,125,982	137.94	Maharaja	17 (19 local)	do.
4. Bundi .	2,220	216,722	16.12	Maharaja Raja	17	P.A., Haroti and Tonk.
5. Bikaner .	23,315	936,218	121.66	Maharaja	17 (19 personal & local)	A.G.G., Rajputana.
6. Kotah .	5,684	685,804	51.6	Maharaja	17 (19 personal)	P.A., E. Rajputana States.
7. Karauli .	1,242	140,525	7.1	Maharaja	17	do.
8. Kishenghar .	858	85,744	7.5	Maharaja	15	Resident in Jaipur and the W. States of Rajputana.
9. Bharatpur .	1,993	486,565	29.45	Maharaja	17 (19 local)	P.A., E. Rajputana States.
10. Jaisalmer .	16,062	76,355	3.79	Maharawal	15	Resident in Jaipur and the W. States of Rajputana.
11. Alwar .	3,213	749,751	55	Maharaja	15 (17 personal & local)	P.A., E. Rajputana States.
12. Tonk .	2,553	317,360	22.54	Nawab	17	P.A., Haroti and Tonk.
13. Dholpur .	1,200	254,986	17.4	Maharaj	15	P.A., E. Rajputana States.
14. Sirohi .	1,964	216,528	10.03	Maharao	15	A.G.G., Rajputana.
15. Dungarpur .	1,447	227,544	6.87	Maharawal	15	Resident in Mewar and P.A., Southern Rajputana States.
16. Partabgarh .	886	76,539	5.82	Maharawat	15	do.
17. Banswara .	1,606	225,106	6.96	Maharawal	15	do.
18. Palanpur .	1,769	264,179	10.9	Nawab	13	A.G.G., Rajputana.
19. Jhalawar .	810	107,890	7.89	Maharaj Rana	13	P.A., Haroti and Tonk.
20. Shahpura .	405	53,222	5.31	Raja	9	do.
21. Danta .	347	23,023	1.76	Maharana	9	Resident in Jaipur and the W. States of Rajputana.
2 Non-Sold States	359	38,354	2.07			

Name of State	Area in Square Miles	Population in 1931	Approx. Revenue in Lakhs	Title of Ruler	Salute of Ruler, in Guns	Designation of Local Political Officer
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XIII.—STATES IN RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

1. Cooch Behar	1,318	590,886	37.75	Maharaja	13	Commissioner, Rajshahi and P.A., Cooch Behar.
2. Tripura	4,116	382,450	33.5	Maharaja	13	Magistrate and Collector, Tippera, and P.A., Tripura.

XIV.—STATES IN RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

1. Bashahr	3,820	104,389	3.34	Raja	(9 personal)	The Superintendent, Hill States, Simla.
17 Non-Salute States	1,275	216,461	18.53		do.	do.
3 Non-Salute States	345	106,937	7.81			The Commissioner of the Ambala Division.

XV.—STATES IN RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

1. Rampur	893	465,225	43	Nawab	15	Commissioner of Rohilkhand and P.A. for Rampur.
2. Benares	875	391,272	20.09	Maharaja	13 (15 local)	Commissioner and P.A., Benares.
3. Tehri-Garhwal	4,500	349,573	18.8	Raja	11	Commissioner of Rohilkhand and P.A. for Tehri-Garhwal.

APPENDIX II

EXTRACT FROM THE WHITE PAPER OF MARCH, 1935,
PUBLISHED AFTER THE PRINCES' DEMUR
(Command Paper 4843)

THE following short extracts from the White Paper of March, 1935, are important as giving some idea of what was in the minds of the Princes in forwarding their Demur to the Federation proposals.

This White Paper contains the following :—

1. Introductory Note by the Secretary of State for India.
2. Report of Committee of States' Ministers (letter from Sir Akbar Hydari to Sir Bertrand Glancy).
3. Resolution passed by a meeting of Indian Princes and representatives held at Bombay to consider No. 2.
4. Letter to His Excellency the Governor-General from Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal and the Maharaja of Bikaner.
5. Note enclosed with No. 4.
6. Despatch (Telegraphic) from the Secretary of State for India to the Governor-General in Council.
7. Memorandum attached to No. 6.
8. Provisional draft Instrument of Accession.

Of these, however, it is sufficient to give here items 1 and 3, and the Secretary of State's reply to Clause XI of the Demur (item 2), extracted from item 7 (page 34). Item 8 is given in Chapter XIII.

No. 1

INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA

In the course of the debate on 26th February, I undertook that as soon as I received in detail the criticisms of the Indian States on the Government of India Bill, I would in some appropriate way put Parliament in possession of them. On the 5th of March I received from the Viceroy the text of a letter addressed to him by Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Patiala, the Nawab of Bhopal, and the Maharaja of Bikaner commenting on the Bill. I have since ascertained through the Viceroy that these Princes have no objection to its publication, and it forms No. 4 of the series now presented in this White Paper.

The replies of the Princes to the Viceroy's enquiry about publication of this letter confirm what is stated in the letter itself—that it is in no sense a withdrawal from their adherence to the policy of an All-India Federation. It was sent to the Viceroy as a basis of future negotiations and discussions with a view to facilitate the entry of the Indian States into Federation, and to explain to His Majesty's Government the difficulties which the Princes felt, so far as they had been able to examine the Federal scheme as set out in the Bill. Their Note was prepared in the shortest possible time, and they are anxious that any impression based merely on the manner in which their case is presented should not lead to a misunderstanding of their attitude.

My despatch to the Viceroy (No. 6 of the series) and the Memorandum which accompanies it will assist to present the matter in its true perspective. The range of apparent difference in regard to the Bill is in the first place narrowed by the fact that certain matters which have been brought into the discussion are quite outside the scope of the Bill. There are certain matters, of which the exercise of the Paramountcy of the Crown is an example, which are undoubtedly of importance to the States; but they have for some years been the subject of discussion between His Majesty's Government and the Princes, and are independent of the form of the Bill, from which they are a distinct issue.

Secondly, these papers will, I hope, dispel any suspicion that His Majesty's Government has departed from any agreements arrived at or from assurances given. In more than one passage of the documents representing the views of the Princes there appears a suggestion that in various particulars the Bill is based upon new decisions by His Majesty's Government. But, except in regard to two points of secondary importance which are referred to in my Memorandum (No. 7 of the series), the provisions of the Bill embody the recommendations of the Joint Select Committee's Report, which, in so far as the Princes are concerned, followed substantially the scheme of the White Paper, which itself was based on the conclusions of the Round Table Conference. There has been no departure from the principles then agreed.

Thirdly, the range of difference is further narrowed by the fact that His Majesty's Government has, on examination of the Princes' Note, been able to suggest modifications in the presentation of certain details of the Bill which, if accepted by Parliament, should go far, without any sacrifice of the essential principles of the Joint Select Committee's Report, to meet the difficulties which the Princes have

felt in respect to them. There remains the problem of the precise manner in which the States are to accede to federation—a problem which arises mainly in connection with clause 6 of the Bill and the form of the Instrument of Accession. This is in itself a difficult problem, if only on account of its novelty and of its far-reaching consequences. But the analysis of the problem in that part of the Memorandum which deals with clause 6 will show that the points of view of the Princes and of the Bill are not, as may have been assumed, inconsistent; the problem, indeed, is less one of opposing political outlook than of drafting technique. The desiderata of His Majesty's Government and of the Princes are not irreconcilable, though the problem remains of bringing them together in the terms of a statutory document. I am confident, however, that the discussions between the legal representatives of the State and the Parliamentary draftsmen, to which the Princes have now agreed, will lead to solutions which will commend themselves alike to the States and to Parliament.

No. 3

RESOLUTION PASSED BY A MEETING OF INDIAN PRINCES AND REPRESENTATIVES HELD AT BOMBAY ON THE 25TH FEBRUARY, 1935

The Princes and the representatives of the States present at this meeting have examined the Government of India Bill and the draft Instrument of Accession and read and considered the Report made by the Committee of Ministers presided over by Sir A. Hydari which has recently dealt with some of the important provisions of the said Bill and the draft Instrument of Accession. They have also considered the opinions of legal advisers and experts whose views have been obtained thereon. While reserving to themselves the right to offer further observations and criticisms in due course, the Princes and representatives of the States present at this meeting fully endorse the observations and criticisms contained in the Report submitted by the Committee of Ministers to the extent that the Committee have been able to deal with the matters in question.

This meeting desired to emphasise that in many respects the Bill and the Instrument of Accession depart from the agreements arrived at during the meetings of representatives of the States with members of His Majesty's Government, and regrets to note that the Bill and the Instrument of Accession do not secure those vital interests and fundamental requisites of the States on which they have throughout laid great emphasis.

This meeting is of the definite opinion that in their present form, and without satisfactory modification and alteration on fundamental points, the Bill and Instrument of Accession cannot be regarded as acceptable to Indian States.

No. 7

MEMORANDUM ATTACHED TO THE S. OF S. DESPATCH (EXTRACT)

(IX) His Majesty's Government understand that the States feel apprehensive as regard the effect of their acceptance of the legislative and executive authority of the Federation in certain matters upon their relations with the Crown in other matters; and these apprehensions have no doubt also influenced their Highnesses in the claim made in paragraph 9 of their Note that the Bill should reproduce in some form the provisions of Section 132 of the existing Government of India Act, which provided that all treaties made by the East India Company are, so far as they are in force at the commencement of the Act, binding on His Majesty.

This section appeared first in the Government of India Act 1858, where it was obviously required by reason of the transfer which that Act effected of all the rights and obligations of the East India Company to the Crown; and it was only re-enacted in the Government of India Act of 1915, because that Act consolidated existing Statutes relating to India, and not because it was thought necessary to re-affirm obligations which the Crown had already assumed. The Crown's engagements towards the Indian Rulers need no re-affirmation by Parliament. But His Majesty's Government are prepared if the Rulers so desire to consider the insertion in this Bill of a provision to the effect that nothing in the Act will affect the engagements of the Crown outside the Federal sphere. If, in addition, some States desire a re-affirmation of the engagements of the Crown towards them so far as they relate to matters outside the Federal sphere, this would, as on other occasions, more appropriately take some extra-statutory form, and His Majesty's Government will consider how best a satisfactory assurance can be given to those so desiring it. Such an assurance would perhaps most conveniently be given at the time when the execution of Instruments of Accession is accepted by His Majesty.

APPENDIX III

EXTRACTS FROM THE DRAFT INSTRUMENT OF INSTRUCTIONS TO GOVERNOR-GENERALS ON FEDERATION (Comd. 4805 of 1935)

IN the Instrument for the Governors-General that it is proposed to issue the following are the principal sections that refer to the Princes' States that have joined the Federation or otherwise. They show the general intention clearly enough.

.
After the preamble
.

NOW THEREFORE WE do by these Our Instructions under our Sign Manual and Signet declare our pleasure to be as follows :—
.

XV. Our Governor-General shall construe his special responsibility for the protection of any rights of any Indian State as requiring him to see that no action shall be taken by his Ministers, and no Bill of the Federal Legislature shall become law, which would imperil the economic life of any State, or affect prejudicially any right of any State heretofore or hereafter recognized, whether derived from treaty, grant usage, sufferance or otherwise, not being a right appertaining to a matter in respect to which in virtue of the Ruler's Instrument of Accession, the Federal Legislature may make laws for his State and his subjects.
.

IN REGARD TO RELATIONS BETWEEN THE FEDERATION, PROVINCES, AND FEDERATED STATES

XX. Whereas it is expedient, for the common good of Provinces and Federated States alike, that the authority of the Federal Government and Legislature in these matters which are by law as signed to them should prevail.

And whereas at the same time it is the purpose of the said Act that on the one hand the Governments and Legislatures of the Provinces should be free in their own sphere to pursue their own policies, and on the other hand that the sovereignty of the Federated States should remain unaffected save in so far as the Rulers thereof have otherwise agreed by their Instruments of Accession ;

And whereas in the interests of the harmonious co-operation of the several members of the body politic the said Act has empowered Our Governor-General to exercise at his discretion certain powers affecting the relations between the Federation and Provinces and States :

It is Our will and pleasure that Our Governor-General, in the exercise of these powers should give unbiased consideration as well to the views of the Governments of Provinces and to the Federated States as to those of his own ministers, whenever those views are in conflict, and, in particular when it falls to him to exercise his power to issue orders to the Governor of a Province or directions to the Ruler of a Federated State, for the purpose of securing that the executive authority of the Federation is not impeded or prejudiced, or his power to determine whether provincial law or federal law shall regulate a matter in the sphere in which both Legislatures have power to make laws.

XXI. It is our desire that Our Governor-General shall by all reasonable means encourage consultation with a view to common action between the Federation, Provinces and Federated States.

.

XXII. *In particular We require our Governor-General to ascertain by the method which appears to him best suited, to the circumstance of each case the views of Provinces and of Federated States upon any legislative proposals which it is proposed to introduce in the Federal Legislature for the imposition of taxes in which Provinces or Federal States are interested.*

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